

Number 18

Essays from
"Teaching and Writing Local and Reservation History:
The Crows"
June 1994

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TEACHING AND WRITING LOCAL AND RESERVATION HISTORY: THE CROWS

June 13-18, 1994
Crow Agency, Montana

A seminar for college teachers organized by the Newberry Library and Little Big Horn College, supported in part with a generous grant from the Division of Education Programs, National Endowment for the Humanities.

Revised Syllabus

Required Reading:

Crow Social Studies: Baleeisbaalichiwee--History, Teacher's Guide, produced by Bilingual Materials Development Center, Crow Agency, Montana. (Written by Tim Bernardis), 1986.

Joe Medicine Crow, "The Development of the Crow Tribal Government" (1976).

Frederick E. Hoxie, "Crow Leadership Amidst Reservation Oppression," in George Pierre Castile and Robert L. Bee, editors, State and Reservation: New Perspectives on Federal Indian Policy (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992).

Frederick E. Hoxie, The Crows (Chelsea House, 1989).

Little Big Horn College, Catalog 1993-1995.

Judy Merritt, "Education Through Communication: Alu'utaashe Crow Develop Model in Bilingual Education," Winds of Change, Winter, 1994.

National Farmers Union Insurance Co. et al v. Crow Tribe of Indians (1985).

Henry Old Coyote, "Crow Child Raising."

Eloise Whitebear Pease, "The Crow Indians: Absarokee: Children of the Large Beaked Bird," in Montana Magazine, 1994.

Orland Svingen, "Jim Crow, Indian Style," American Indian Quarterly 11(1987): 275-286.

Time Life Books, The Buffalo Hunters (Alexandria, VA 1993).

Monday, June 13--Arrival and Orientation

1:30 p.m. Vans pickup passengers from Billings airport and proceed to Plenty Coups Museum in Pryor, MT. Vans will approach Pryor from the west, driving over the hills

from Edgar, recreating a seasonal migration route of the Crows who wintered in the foothills of the Pryor range and hunted buffalo in the Yellowstone Valley. The Plenty Coups Museum will be open before and during dinner.

4:30 p.m. Early arrivals (air travellers and drivers) who are interested in visiting the Crow battle site seven miles north of the present village should gather promptly in the Plenty Coups museum parking lot. Joe Medicine Crow, the Crow tribal historian, will lead this informal tour.

6:00 p.m. Dinner at outdoor picnic area near Plenty Coups Museum. Prior to the meal Grant Bulltail, a community historian from Pryor, will provide the group with a background on the area and on Chief Plenty Coups. Following the meal and welcome, seminar leaders will review the week's schedule, introduce those present and discuss the objectives of the week. These include:

1. To present an overview of Crow history and the history of the Crow reservation.
2. To review the methods used to present Crow history at Little Big Horn College.
3. To introduce different approaches to the study of Crow history, including the history of families, economic history, and the history of Crow ceremonies.
4. To explore the strengths and weakness of libraries, archives, historic sites, museums and oral histories from the study of local and reservation history.
5. To discuss the applicability of the methods and topics addressed at Little Big Horn College both to tribal colleges and to courses in Indian Studies.
6. To investigate research topics and new historical questions suggested by the study of Crow history.

8:00 p.m. Vans leave for American Inn in Hardin, MT where seminar participants will register in pre-assigned rooms.

Tuesday, June 14--An Introduction to Crow History

8:00 a.m. Vans leave American Inn for Little Big Horn College.

8:15 a.m. Breakfast at Little Big Horn College.

9:00 a.m. Scholarship on the Crow Indians--A History

Fred Voget Jr., author of The Crow-Shoshone Sun Dance, Janine Pease Windy Boy, President of Little Big Horn College and Joe Medicine Crow will each present an

overview of the scholarship that has been produced on the Crows during the past 100 years. Voget will focus on the work of anthropologists and historians, Pease Windy Boy on work in education, and Medicine Crow will address the many ways in which Crows have contributed to this scholarship as informants, researchers and authors.

12:00 n Lunch at Little Big Horn College.

1:30 p.m. Crow History, 1884-1994: The Reservation Era.

Two authors, Crow tribal historian Joe Medicine Crow and the Newberry Library's Fred Hoxie will discuss three major topics in the recent experience of the Crow tribe. The topics, drawn from the history of the Crows since the establishment of Crow Agency in 1884, are as follows:

1. The role of Crow chiefs in the initial settlement of the reservation and the formation of reservation districts.
2. The passage of the Crow Act of 1920, a unique piece of legislation which allotted all the arable land on the reservation to tribal members. On most western reservations only a portion of the original land base was allotted: the remainder of tribal land was opened for non-Indian settlement. How did this happen at Crow? Was it a "success" for the tribe?
3. The rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act and the creation of the modern Crow tribal government in 1948, a system that includes a general council in which all members present act as the nation's supreme legislative body.

Included in the general discussion to follow the presentation will be two other Crow historians, Eloise Whitebear Pease and Barney Old Coyote. Among the topics to be addressed in this discussion will be the problem of managing conflicting interpretations of events and the ways in which reservation experiences do or do not fit into an overall picture of "tribal" history.

4:00 p.m. Tour of Wraps Up His Tail (Sword Bearer) Sites in the Little Big Horn Valley.

Following the afternoon class section Joe Medicine Crow will lead the group to the place where Wraps Up His Tail died following the "uprising" he led in 1887 and the place near Lodge Grass, Montana where he fasted as a young man and received his vision.

7:00 p.m. Dinner possibly in Lodge Grass or at Little Big Horn College.

8:00 p.m. Vans depart for American Inn.

Wednesday, June 15--

8:00 a.m. Vans leave American Inn for Little Big Horn College.

8:15 a.m. Breakfast at Little Big Horn College.

9:00 a.m. Crow Studies I--

Dale Old Horn, Head of Department of Crow Studies at Little Big Horn College, will present an overview of his Crow Studies curriculum in three sessions. All three presentations will illustrate the objectives of the Crow Studies program as articulated in the college catalogue:

The student majoring in Crow Studies at Little Big Horn College gains an opportunity to study all aspects of the American Indian experience. This includes studies in the historical, political, economic, artistic and social component of American Indian cultures. Because of the locale which is surrounded with a living laboratory of Crow Indians, the LBHC student gains insightful knowledge of the Crow Indian culture. History courses provided a more factual basis for evaluating the Native American experience. Law and government courses examine the legal status of American Indians as well as the role the tribal institutions have played and continue to play in defining the responses of American Indian tribes to the larger American legal system. American Indian ideology, communication, social structures and integration into contemporary society. The bicultural experience is studied to gain an understanding of cultural change, culture conflict and culture loss which occur in the interface of social dynamism and development.

The Native American experience has had a common thread throughout. These have been the policies of the Europeans and the Euro-Americans. The first presentation on Crow studies will focus on Pan-Indians Studies which encompass national policies, Native American ideologies, culture conflict, and Native American responses in economics and politics.

12:00 n Lunch at Little Big Horn College.

1:00 p.m. Vans leave for Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument where Superintendent Gerard Baker will offer an overview of the history of the battlefield park and

a description of his plans for integrating Native American perspectives into one of America's most famous historic sites.

2:30 p.m. Vans promptly return to Little Big Horn College.

3:00 p.m. Jeanne Smith, faculty member at Oglala Lakota College, will describe the course she has developed at OLC entitled, "Writing Your Family History." She will present materials developed from the course and lead a discussion of the applicability of this approach to other settings. Dale Old Horn will respond to Smith's presentation by describing his approach to teaching Crow family history.

5:30 p.m. Dinner at Little Big Horn College.

7:00 p.m. Dean Bear Claw will show his award-winning film, "Warrior Chiefs in a New Age," and discuss the research that went into its production. There will be time for a general discussion of documentary films and the ways in which they both support history teaching and simplify complex historical issues.

9:00 p.m. Vans depart for American Inn.

Thursday, June 16--

8:00 a.m. Vans leave American Inn for Little Big Horn College.

8:15 a.m. Breakfast at Little Big Horn College.

9:00 a.m. Crow Studies II--

Dale Old Horn will continue his overview of the Crow Studies Curriculum. This session will focus on Crow specific topics in social structure and ideology.

12:00 n Lunch at Little Big Horn College.

1:30 p.m. Van leaves for Big Horn Canyon and Yellowtail Dam.

Crow historian and elder Dr. Barney Old Coyote will lead the group from Crow Agency to St. Xavier, site of the first Catholic mission among the Crows, and then up the Big Horn Valley, past the site of Fort C.F. Smith to the Yellowtail Dam, constructed over the protests of the Crow tribe. The group will also see the significance of the canyon that now lies beneath the lake created by the Big Horn Dam. Dr. Old Coyote will use the tour to describe the history of the region and to discuss with the group the ways in which historic sites can be used for instructional processes.

6:30 p.m. Dinner at Fort Smith Historic Site. During dinner Thomas Adams, Program Officer in the Division of Education, will give a brief presentation on NEH grants and programs.

7:30 p.m. Panel discussion on the history of the relationship between the Crow tribe and the state and local governments. Panelist will include Angela Russell, a state senator and Crow tribal member, John Doyle, a member of the Big Horn County Commission, Janine Pease Windy Boy, President of LBHC, and C. Adrian Heidenreich, a faculty member in Native American Studies at Eastern Montana College.

9:00 p.m. Vans depart for American Inn.

Friday, June 17--

8:00 a.m. Vans leave American Inn for Little Big Horn College.

8:15 a.m. Breakfast at Little Big Horn College.

9:00 a.m. Tribal College Libraries and Archives: Sources for Teaching and Research--

Tim Bernardis, Little Big Horn College Librarian, and Magdalene Medicine Horse, the college archivist, will introduce the seminar to the college's research resources and describe the ways in which it is used by students and scholars. Following their presentation, Cheryl Metoyer-Duran, a Native American librarian who is currently Rupert Costo Professor of American Indian studies at the University of California, Riverside, will respond to their presentation and discuss the results of the study of tribal college libraries. Participants will be asked to describe their home and to discuss the ways in which library and archival collections might be better sources for research and teaching.

12:00 n Lunch at Little Big Horn College.

1:30 p.m. Crow Studies III--

5:00 p.m. Break/free time/visit to Little Big Horn Battlefield.

6:00 p.m. Outdoor dinner at Little Big Horn Battlefield. Afterwards, vans will leave for Reno-Benteen Battlefield for the evening session.

Dusk Lakota and Crow Star Knowledge--

Victor Douville of Sinte Gleska University will present Lakota cosmology materials prepared by the

institution's Lakota Studies Department. Tim McCleary and Magdalene Medicine Horse of the Little Big Horn College faculty will also present the products of their research into Crow Star knowledge followed by Grant Bulltail who will tell Crow stories and discuss traditional knowledge concerning the heavens. Weather permitting, these presentations will be made in a setting where the speakers will be able to "illustrate" their remarks in the sky.

Saturday, June 18--

8:00 a.m. Vans leave American Inn for Little Big Horn College.

8:15 a.m. Breakfast at Little Big Horn College.

9:00 a.m. The Legal History of the Crows--

Clarence Belue, attorney and adjunct faculty member at Little Big Horn College, will present an overview of the recent legal and political history of the reservation paying particular attention to the history of the tribal court.

Belue will also describe the 1985 Supreme Court decision in National Farmer's Union Insurance Co. v. Crow Tribe of Indians (in which he represented the tribe) and Windy Boy v. Big Horn County, decided in 1986. Belue will address the extent to which economic control of Crow resources by non-Indians is frequently translated into political and legal domination. The first decision established the principle that tribal courts have jurisdiction over civil disputes involving non-Indians on the reservation and the second, brought under the 1965 Voting Rights Act, struck down the at-large election of county commissioners in Big Horn County, a practice that had effectively barred Crow Indians from holding office. Little Big Horn College President Jaine Pease Windy Boy was the lead plaintiff in the voting rights case.

Following the presentation, Belue, Pease Windy Boy, and the seminar participants will discuss ways in which legal discrimination and local racial tension can become subjects for historical research and education.

12:00 n Lunch at Little Big Horn College. During this meal, Thomas Adams will lead a short question and answer period on NEH grants and programs.

1:30 p.m. Creating an Occasional Paper on Crow and reservation history.

Drawing on the materials presented during the seminar,

together with topics and questions raised in the course of the week, Fred Hoxie and Brenda Kay Manuelito will lead a discussion of how best to communicate the work of the group to a larger audience. Participants will be asked to consider preparing short essays, bibliographies, course outlines and other materials that will together provide college teachers with materials they can use to better present both Crow and American Indian history. This will be partially a brainstorming session and partially a planning meeting where people will volunteer to take on relatively small pieces of a large and significant publication.

4:00 p.m. Closing session: evaluations, discussion of upcoming "Indian Voices" program, thank you to hosts and presenters.

5:00 p.m. Vans depart for American Inn.

6:00 p.m. Dinner "on own."

Sunday, June 19--

6:30 a.m. Vans leave American Inn for Billings airport.

Introduction

The second tribal college seminar in our Indian Voices in the Academy Faculty Development Program was held on June 13-18, 1994. With funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, approximately twenty college teachers from around the country attended the week-long seminar on "Teaching and Writing Local History: The Crows" at Little Big Horn College, Crow Agency, MT. The seminar instructors included tribal college instructors from Little Big Horn College, Sinte Gleska University, and Oglala Lakota College as well as respected Crow elders Joe Medicine Crow, Barney Old Coyote, and Eloise Whitebear Pease.

Most tribal colleges focus on local and tribal history, yet there are few opportunities for their teachers to engage in communication with other institutions. By bringing a group of college teachers together at Little Big Horn College, the seminar was able to provide these individuals, who are interested in teaching and writing the local history of Indian people, with an opportunity to learn how Crow history and culture is taught in a tribal college curriculum as well as provide stimulating discussions about curriculum development in Indian history. Most importantly, the seminar opened a dialogue between the different institutions and departments represented. Through these seminars, it is our hope that new questions and research agendas about tribal histories will continue to emerge.

The seminar discussions focused on the different approaches used to teach local and tribal history in different settings,

followed by debates about the validity of each approach and inquiries about how to deal with multiple perspectives. The occasional paper reflects a part of these intense discussions-- contributors to this volume reevaluate how they teach Indian history in their home institutions and, in particular, how they teach about local and tribal history. They share their knowledge and resources (i.e., bibliographies, course outlines, course summaries, and personal observations) with those readers who were unable to attend the Crow seminar.

The first set of essays provides course summaries by teachers actively engaged in teaching Indian history in different settings. Joy Lintelman provides an "in-progress" report about how she has revised her Indian history course as a result of the knowledge and understanding she gained at the Crow seminar. These changes include using Indian autobiographies and incorporating experiential learning into her courses. Jeffrey Ostler discusses how he deals with the problem of multiple perspectives in his Indian history course at the University of Oregon. Through readings and discussions of secondary and primary materials, he shows students how written accounts can be falsely recorded and how native perspectives have often been absent or distorted. This essay is followed by Jeanne Smith's essay which similarly deals with the use of multiple viewpoints in the classroom. At Oglala Lakota College, she teaches a course on "Writing Your Family and Community History" which incorporates storytelling, interviewing, and writing strategies. Luana Ross provides a course outline and bibliography for the course she teaches on Native American women. She discusses how she has

restructured the course throughout the years depending on the different settings she teaches in--from tribal colleges with predominately Native students to research universities with a diverse racial/ethnic student body. Finally, Craig Howe discusses his course "Others' Voices: Native American Narratives," which implements a group-inquiry approach as opposed to a teacher-dominated one. He shows how Hypercard, which presents multimedia texts in a non-sequential format, facilitates a modern presentation of tribal histories from a tribal perspective.

This group of essays is followed by William Thackeray's essay on the Montana Indian Studies Law which was passed in 1974, only to be repealed five years later. He discusses the history of this legislation and describes how sensitizing the public school curriculum about Indians in the State of Montana led to ethnic violence and racial misunderstandings. This essay is followed by Cheryl Metoyer-Duran's essay on "Library Classification Systems and Tribal Knowledge" which promotes user-centered information storage and retrieval systems. She argues for a more accurate and precise classification system which integrates tribal terminology. Both of these essays are of common concern to teachers, administrators, and scholars.

The final group of essays provides new material about Crow history and culture. Fred W. Voget, Emeritus Professor at Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, writes about how a child-centered family base stabilized Crow culture and society in the face of pressures to assimilate into the dominant American culture. This essay is followed by John Grim's account of his

participation, as a non-native, in the Crow Sun Dance. Although he has participated in several ceremonies, he has only recently been given permission to publish this material, by his adopted uncle and Sun Dance Chief John Cummins, and it has found its way into this volume. Finally, Eloise Whitebear Pease provides her own reflections about the adoption of the Crow Tribal Constitution in 1948.

This occasional paper is the second in a series of seminars on "Teaching and Writing Local History." The final seminar is scheduled for June 1995 at Navajo Community College in Tsaile, AZ. An occasional paper from that seminar will be forthcoming.

These publications are being distributed to all seminar participants in the Indian Voices in the Academy Faculty Development Program, 1993-1996. The contents are intended for sharing and circulation among teachers of Indian history.

The papers are published in the form submitted to the Center staff, with proofreading limited to a review for internal consistency. No effort has been made to recast citations into a uniform style. Additional copies are available at cost for \$5 plus \$1.50 postage and handling. These can be obtained by writing to: The D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, The Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, IL 60610.

**"In-Progress" Report:
The Crow Seminar and Teaching Indian History**

by
Joy Lintelman
Concordia College

"To teach is to learn twice."
Joseph Joubert

In June, 1994 I participated in the "Indian Voices in the Academy" seminar on Crow local history at Little Bighorn College in Crow Agency, Montana. It was an intensive week of listening, reading, and experiencing. As I continue to teach and study in the field of Indian history, I find myself often reflecting upon the seminar and experiences it entailed. This essay will describe how I have revised my "North American Indian History" course as a result of the knowledge and understanding I gained from the Crow seminar. The essay includes some introductory comments about my teaching environment and my goals and objectives for the course, followed by a copy of the course syllabus for the class which will be taught in the spring of 1995.

The profession which I have chosen is one that not only allows for but encourages me to continue learning. As Joubert's words imply, teachers learn not only from courses and books, but in the act of teaching as well. The title of this essay, "An 'In-Progress' Report," reflects the fact that I am still very much in the process of learning, not only as I work to re-shape my teaching based on knowledge acquired from the Crow seminar, but also when I actually implement the course changes in the coming months.

I am a non-Native faculty member who teaches a course on North American Indian History at a college with a predominantly non-Native student body. For me, this is an important but challenging position. Students arrive in my courses with strong opinions and attitudes (mostly negative) regarding Indians. The college where I teach is located in an area with a relatively high Native population [near White Earth reservation with a population approaching 3000 Indians and near Red Lake reservation with nearly 5000 Indian residents--these figures exclude Indians living in the off-reservation communities surrounding the college]. It is my hope that through my teaching I can encourage students to at least tolerate and understand, if not appreciate and respect, the Native cultures surrounding them. Yet I vacillate between feeling overwhelmed--how can I teach about goals, feelings, and difficulties of the many Native cultures, all of which are very different from the rural midwestern WASP culture in which I was raised and have lived--and feeling incredibly excited and intellectually stimulated by the challenge. After all, historians are trained and make a living at doing the best job they can of teaching about peoples and cultures with whom they have had no direct contact. And in that sense, I have an advantage. Through opportunities such as the Crow seminar, I have been able to gain first-hand, experience-based knowledge of some of the people about whom I teach.

I came to the seminar with a number of personal goals in mind: to learn more about the Crow people; to find new colleagues, both Indian and non-Indian, who share my goals and

interests in teaching about Indians; and to learn about new ways of teaching Native American history. I left the seminar feeling successful in reaching these goals. During the intensive meetings and discussions I collected a wide range of material on Crow history and culture. I will be able to draw on this material in my teaching as I periodically use the Crow experience as a case study for different aspects of Indian history. With regard to meeting new colleagues with mutual interests--I have already drawn upon the ideas and expertise of a number of my new friends and expect to continue contact and cooperation with these colleagues. It is my hope that some collaborative work might emerge from these contacts in the future. With regard to the final goal of learning new ways to teach Native history, I have provided the proposed syllabus for my North American Indian history course to be taught in the spring of 1995. The content, structure and goals of the course reflect my experiences at Crow, as well as my on-going conversations with seminar participants.

Re-vision

As I looked at "re-visioning" my course, I struggled with several objectives which arose from the Crow seminar. My first objective was to place stronger emphasis on the role of the spiritual in my teaching of Indian culture and history. My experiences at Crow heightened my consciousness of the centrality of spirituality in the everyday life of Native Americans in the past and present. I have chosen texts with a focus on spirituality in mind. A second objective was to try to use only Indian sources. Many of the Indian participants at the seminar

felt strongly about this issue, and my conversations with them also convinced me that there are excellent materials available which can be used creatively in the classroom. A final objective was to provide opportunities for non-Native students to "connect" (or perhaps "identify" is a better word) with Indian history and culture. In my time at Little Bighorn College, I was able to speak with a number of students there. Their excitement and interest in Indian history was obvious, and I found myself wishing that my own students were that eager to learn about Native history. Certainly the personal connection which the Native students have to the topic is an important aspect of their eagerness to learn. In what ways could I encourage that excitement among a mostly non-Indian student body? My use of life stories is one way of addressing this objective. When I have used autobiographies and/or novels in other history courses, they helped students to "connect" with the experiences of others. Life stories allow information to become more personal, and the story line and details provided in these works supplement information provided in texts, documents, and lecture.

The course begins with common readings on Native religion, using The Sacred: Ways of Knowledge, Sources of Life by Peggy V. Beck, Anna Lee Walters, and Nia Francisco (Navajo Community College Press, 1992). Students need this grounding in Native religion and world views in order to understand and analyze the actions and experiences of the Native past. The common course readings continue with Peter Nabokov's Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992 (Penguin Books, 1978, 1991). This collection

of primary source materials provides a sense of the chronology of the Native experience (from the Native perspective) in the United States since the arrival of Euramericans.

These two texts deal with Native Americans collectively. They provide students with a sense of the general outline of Native culture and history and its relationship to the actions of Euramerican colonizers, as well as assuring a common background for class discussions and assignments.

In addition to this common reading, each student is required to read a life-story of a North American Indian (mostly autobiographies, but in some cases ethnographic studies or historical novels). This autobiographical approach is a way to counter some of the traditionally Eurocentric approaches to Native American history as well as an opportunity for students to personally "connect" with Native history. I have attempted to provide a wide range of life-stories from a number of culture groups in the United States. Students are to read the life-story early on in the semester and are responsible for conveying information about the life of the individual they studied to the rest of the class. At the appropriate point in the course chronology, students will be expected to discuss their character's experiences, attitudes, and beliefs.

In addition to the life-story assignment, students are required to conduct in-depth research about the tribe from which their character originated. They must search for materials on the tribe and prepare an annotated bibliography, then write an account of the history of that tribe, and finally, prepare a poster session presentation of the contemporary experiences of

the tribe.

Later in the semester, all students read a novel called Ghostsinger by Anna Lee Walters (University of New Mexico Press, 1994). This engaging and informative mystery offers a departure from the historical writing and documents which the students will have been reading and represents some of the concerns of contemporary Indians. (Also note: a few of the class members will be joining me in an off-campus study experience in the Southwest in May of 1995. The off-campus course will examine Southwestern Indian history and culture, and students will have an opportunity to visit with author Anna Lee Walters in the course of their study.)

In addition to historical and literary study, I will use a number of simulation exercises. For example, I will use a reservation simulation based upon a model provided in The NESA Activities Handbook for Native and Multicultural Classrooms (compiled by Don Sawyer and Howard Green, Vancouver, BC: Tillacum Library, 1984). It is designed to help non-Native students understand the experiences of Indians living on reservations. Topics covered include issues such as economic development, education, and housing. Using simulations reflects my desire to incorporate experiential learning into the course. I believe that in teaching multicultural material, experience-based learning can heighten student's ability to understand and respect difference in ways that reading cannot.

This course structure marks a departure for me from the more traditional focus on Native-white relations in United States history. I am optimistic about the course and believe it offers

the students exciting ways of engaging the material. As you read through the syllabus, you will also note other pedagogical goals which I have in mind. As an upper-division history course, the class provides opportunities for students to develop and hone skills of research, analysis, interpretation, and oral and written communication. Finally, I wish to remind the readers of my comments in the opening section of this essay. My course (and my learning) is still very much "in-progress." As I teach the re-visioned course in the next few months, I expect to learn along with the students as we examine the variety and complexity of Native cultures in the United States.

History 315X
Spring 1995
Dr. Lintelman

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Class meets MWF, 11:50 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. in MA 301, Section 3822

Office Hours: 9:00-9:50 a.m. Monday through Thursday and
2:00-4:00 p.m. Tuesdays and Thursdays
and by appointment*

(*please feel free to make an appointment or call me to talk if my office hours are not convenient)

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INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

Welcome!

This course examines some of the historical experiences of Native Americans in North America from the era preceding European settlement to the present. It is an upper-division history course, it fulfills the college's integration requirement, and it represents the pre-seminar course for the May Seminar "Indian Country" (History 300).

It is impossible in a single course to examine the hundreds of diverse cultures and critical events which make up the history of Indians in North America. This course will therefore provide an overview of some of the major themes and trends in Indian history, supplemented by readings that illuminate particular topics.

Students may find this course a departure from other United States history courses they have taken. The history of Native peoples cannot be studied successfully within the confines of traditional historical research and methodology. The traditional reliance on official documents and occasional personal writings fails to "catch" the experiences of most Native peoples. Therefore, while this is a history course we will also move outside the historical discipline to some extent, examining and adopting ideas and methodologies from other disciplines and applying them to the historical study of Native Americans. The study of North American Indians draws upon such widely ranging fields as anthropology, literature, religion, and art. These interdisciplinary research techniques are often labeled ethnohistory. The ethnohistorical approach begins by assuming that Indian people's experiences and actions can only be explained by attention to their own cultural values and norms and the ways in which these values and norms interacted with those of colonizers. This course will be taught from an ethnohistorical perspective.

The course is designed to serve as an introduction to the field of Indian history. Interested students may work with the professor if they would like to explore other issues of concern to them.

Course Goals:

- * to explore the culture of Native Americans in all its dimensions, including an examination of religious heritage, social customs, world view, and historical memory.
- * to discover and provide information on patterns of Indian-white contacts through exploring evidence written from an Indian perspective.
- * to examine and become familiar with the variety of different scholarly approaches necessary to understand fully Native Americans' experiences, and the human experience, in the past and present.

Skill Development Goals:

- * to further develop skills in critical thinking through analysis of historical source material, weighing evidence, and arriving at conclusions based on that evidence.
- * to develop an intellectual community through group discussion and cooperative work and learning.
- * to further develop oral and written communication skills.
- * to encourage students to develop an understanding of the relevancy of history in order to follow better current events relating to aboriginal peoples in North America and elsewhere.

Required Readings:

Beck, Peggy V., Anna Lee Walter and Nia Francisco. The Sacred: Ways of Knowledge, Sources of Life. Tsaile, Arizona: Navajo Community College Press, 1992.

Nabokov, Peter, ed. Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992. New York: Penguin Books, 1991.

Walters, Anna J. Ghostsinger. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.

Course Requirements

1. Attendance and Class Preparation: Students will be expected to complete the assigned readings before the class in which they are due, attend class regularly, and keep up with all assignments. Since the success and pleasures of this course depend on the quality of day-by-day preparation by the class members, students whose inclination or schedule do not permit them to prepare readings by the class period during which they are due should not enroll in this course. Your

attendance will comprise part of your group participation grade, and you will be assigned an attendance score at the end of the semester based upon the number of times you were present for class sessions.

2. Discussions: Class participation is critical if you want to get the best possible educational experience from this course. I recognize that for many of you the thought of speaking out in a group is frightening. We will therefore conduct class discussions in accordance with some guidelines (included below) designed to make the experience a positive one for all concerned. Your discussion grade will be determined both by my observation of your participation and a self-evaluation you will complete at the end of the semester.
3. Co-facilitating Discussion: Each student will collaborate with one or two other students in co-facilitating class discussion of the readings on occasion. This will require co-facilitating students to read ahead, to discuss the reading with each other, to develop (in consultation with the instructor) a reaction paper to be handed out prior to the class in which you serve as co-facilitator, and to actually co-facilitate class discussion during all or part of a class period.
4. Life Story Analysis: Each student will be required to read and analyze one book-length Native American life history (this may be an autobiography, an anthropological life history study, or in some cases, a fictional interpretation of a life history). The student will choose from a list of life-histories provided by the instructor. Students are expected to, in a sense, take on the identity of the individual about whom they are reading. They should be ready to talk about that individual's experiences in class sessions that cover issues which touched the life of the individual they studied. In addition to contributing their knowledge to class discussions, students will be expected to incorporate information from the life story into their annotated bibliography, historical paper, and poster session (further details of this analysis will be provided in a class handout).
5. Annotated Bibliography: Focusing on the tribe on which the life story reading chosen by the student was based, each student will develop an annotated bibliography describing the most important ethnohistorical sources about the assigned tribe. The bibliography should include secondary and published primary material. If possible, it should also include materials such as films, videos, audio-recordings, graphic images, etc. A more detailed description of this assignment will be provided in a handout and distributed in class.
6. Research Paper: Each student will describe, in prose style,

the historical experience of a tribe--the one on which the life story reading chosen by the student is based. Whenever possible, the description should include the tribe's own view of their past as well as a Euramerican historical viewpoint. A detailed description of this assignment will be included in a separate class handout.

7. Poster Session: Each student will develop a poster as part of a formal poster session focusing on the contemporary experiences of the tribe of origin of their life-story subject. The posters should focus upon such areas as language, type of government, economic development, demographic trends, land ownership, and gender roles. More information on this assignment will be included in a separate class handout.
8. Other Assignments: For each assigned reading, students will be given reaction papers which pose questions and ideas about the reading. Reaction papers will be prepared by the instructor or by co-facilitator in consultation with the instructor. Students will be expected to have written brief responses to the reaction papers prior to the class in which they are due. The reaction papers will be collected periodically (and at random). Several times throughout the semester you may also be asked to complete short writing assignments due at the end of class or at the next class meeting. These may be assigned to individuals or small groups.

Grading:

Your course grade will be figured as follows:

Co-facilitating Discussion--20%
Annotated Bibliography--20%
Research Paper--20%
Poster Session--20%
Attendance,
Class Participation,
and Other Assignments--20%

General Policies

Taping: Tape recorders or other audio recording devices are not permitted in the classroom.

Plagiarism (i.e., cheating): Misrepresenting someone else's work or ideas as your own constitutes plagiarism. Examples may be as innocent as naively omitting quotations from text lifted from books or excessive paraphrasing from sources not cited. Using work submitted for credit from another course is also improper. I strongly believe in leaving students on their honor not to cheat. In cases where I find plagiarism, I reserve the right to

penalize the party as I think appropriate. As a guideline, first offense will result in failure of the assignment, second offense will result in failure of the course.

Writing: Students are expected to pay attention to the rules of grammar, punctuation, and citation. You are graded in part on how you write because writing is an indication of how you think.

Penalty for late assignments: Grades on late assignments will be reduced one full grade (i.e., a late "A" paper would receive a "B"). If you have a legitimate reason for an extension without penalty (e.g. serious illness), discuss your situation with me as soon as possible so that we can arrange an extension.

Grading: I use the following scale when figuring grades:

A+ = 97 to 100	C+ = 78 to 79
A = 93 to 96	C = 73 to 77
A- = 90 to 92	C- = 70 to 72
B+ = 88 to 89	D+ = 68 to 69
B = 83 to 87	D = 63 to 67
B- = 80 to 82	D- = 60 to 62
	F = 59 and below

Tentative Class Schedule:

WEEK ONE:

- 4 January 1995--Introductions
Course structure
Building Community
- 6 January 1995--Defining Religion Reading Due:
Sacred--1, "Seeking Life: Definitions of Religion and the Sacred"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #1

WEEK TWO:

- 9 January 1995--Drama, Prayer, and Education
Reading Due: Sacred--2 and 3, "Ritual Drama and Prayer," and "Traditional Education"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #2
- 11 January 1995--Seasons, Origins, and Other Worlds
Reading Due: Sacred--4, "Seasons, Origins, and Other Worlds"
Library Instruction
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #3
- 13 January 1995--Guest Speakers
Tim and Lynn Giago

WEEK THREE:

- 16 January 1995--Shamanism
Reading Due: Sacred--5, "Shamanism and the World of Spirits"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #4
- 18 January 1995--Life Course
Reading Due: Sacred--8 and 9, "Path of Life," and "Girl's Puberty Ceremonies"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #5
- 20 January 1995--In-class project

WEEK FOUR:

- 23 January 1995--Traditional Knowledge
Reading Due: Sacred--12 and 13, "Navajo Traditional Knowledge," and "Sacred Fools and Clowns"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #6
- 25 January 1995--Pre-history
Reading Due: Nabokov--1 "Premonitions and Prophecies"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #7
CO-FACILITATOR GROUP 1
- 27 January 1995--Columbus to the American Revolution
Reading Due: Nabokov--2, 3, and 4 "Face to Face," "Exchange Between Worlds," and "Bearers of the Cross"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #8
COFACILITATORS GROUP 2

WEEK FIVE:

- 30 January 1995--Windwalker
Assignment Due: In class period following viewing of film,
Reaction paper #9
- 1 February 1995--Windwalker
Assignment Due: See notation above.
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE
- 3 February 1995--American Revolution to Western Fur Trade
Reading Due: Sacred--6, "Colonizers and Genocide"
Nabokov--5 "Living Beside Each Other"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #10
COFACILITATORS GROUP 3

WEEK SIX:

- 6 February 1995--Western Fur Trade to End of Treaty-Making
Reading Due: Nabokov--6 and 7, "The Long Resistance" and "The Treaty Trail"

Assignment Due: Reaction paper #11
COFACILITATORS GROUP 4

- 8 February 1995--Western Fur Trade to End of Treaty-Making
Reading Due: Nabokov--8 "Exiles in their Own Land"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #12
In-class Map Exercise
- 10 February 1995--End of Treaty-Making to Ghost Dance Religion
Reading Due: Nabokov--9 and 10 "The Nation's Hoop is Broken
and Scattered" and "The Very Small Islands"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #13
COFACILITATORS GROUP 5

WEEK SEVEN:

- 13 February 1995--End of Treaty-Making to Ghost Dance Religion
Reading Due: Nabokov--11 and 12 "To Learn Another Way" and
"The Flood Has Come"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #14
COFACILITATORS GROUP 6
- 15 February 1995--End of Treaty-Making to Ghost Dance Religion
In-class assignment: Colonialism Simulation
Assignment Due: Written response at end of class period (see
handout)
- 17 February 1995--Wounded Knee to Indian Reorganization Act
Reading Due: Nabokov--13 and 14 "Hearts on the Ground" and
"A Twentieth Century Indian Voice"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #15
- 18 - 26 FEBRUARY MID-SEMESTER BREAK

WEEK EIGHT:

- 27 February 1995--Wounded Knee to Indian Reorganization Act
Reading Due: Nabokov--15 "Interlude of Hope"
Sacred--7 "World Out of Balance"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #16
Slide Presentation?
COFACILITATORS GROUP 7
- 1 March 1995--Indian Reorganization Act to End of Termination
Reading Due: Nabokov--16 "In and Out of the Mainstream"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #17
COFACILITATORS GROUP 8
- 3 March 1995--End of Termination and Beginning of Civil Rights
Movement
Reading Due: Nabokov--17 and 18 "Let's Raise Some Hell" and
"So Long as this Land Exists"

Assignment Due: Reaction paper #18
COFACILITATORS GROUP 9

WEEK NINE

- 6 March 1995--End of Termination and Beginning of Civil Rights Movement
Reading Due: Nabokov--19 "Facing the Indian Future"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #18
COFACILITATORS GROUP 10
- 8 March 1995--Peyote
Reading Due: Sacred--10 "The Peyote Spirit"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #19
Film: "The Peyote Road"
- 10 March 1995--Indians in Contemporary Society
Reading Due: Sacred--11 and 14, "Sacred and Secular--Seminole Today" and "Wandering Ground"
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #20
COFACILITATORS GROUP 11

WEEK TEN

- 13 March 1995--Teaching about Indians
Reading Due: See handout
Assignment Due: See handout
- 15 March 1995--Indians and Hollywood
Film: (a western)
HISTORICAL ANALYSIS PAPER DUE
- 17 March 1995--Indians and Hollywood
Film: (a western)
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #21 due at end of class period

WEEK ELEVEN

- 20 March 1995--Native American Awareness Week
NO CLASS TODAY, INSTEAD ATTEND A NATIVE AMERICAN AWARENESS WEEK EVENT
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #22 to be completed after attendance at event
- 22 March 1995--Native American Awareness Week
NO CLASS TODAY, INSTEAD STUDENTS ARE EXPECTED TO ATTEND THE POW WOW TO BE HELD SATURDAY, 25 MARCH 1995 AT THE FARGO CIVIC CENTER
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #23 to be completed after attending the Pow Wow

- 24 March 1995--Native American Awareness Week
Guest Speaker on the Pow Wow
Discussion of Native American Week Events

WEEK TWELVE

- 27 March 1995--Contemporary Reservation Simulation
Reading Due: See handout
Assignment Due: See handout
- 29 March 1995--Contemporary Reservation Simulation (cont'd)
Assignment Due: See handout
- 31 March 1995--Contemporary Reservation Simulation (cont'd)
De-briefing and comparisons
Assignment Due: See handout

WEEK THIRTEEN

- 3 April 1995--Ghostsinger
Reading Due: pp.
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #24
COFACILITATORS GROUP 12
- 5 April 1995--Ghostsinger
Reading Due: pp.
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #25
COFACILITATORS GROUP 13
- 7 April 1995--Ghostsinger
Reading Due: pp.
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #26
COFACILITATORS GROUP 14

WEEK FOURTEEN

- 10 April 1995--Contemporary Stereotypes
Reading Due: See handout
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #27
- 12 April 1995--Aboriginal Peoples/A Global View
Reading Due: See handout
Assignment Due: Reaction paper #28
- 13 - 17 APRIL 1995 EASTER RECESS

WEEK FIFTEEN

- 19 April 1995--Poster Sessions
Assignment Due: POSTER SESSIONS DUE

21 April 1995--Poster Sessions

24 April 1995--Poster Sessions

Ground Rules for Class Discussions

1. We want to create a safe atmosphere for open discussion.
2. We will assume that people are always doing the best they can.
3. We will try to encourage those who do not speak up often in class to take the opportunity to do so.
4. The goal of class discussions on controversial issues is not necessarily to achieve a consensus, but rather to raise consciousness about the different sides of issues. Everyone is entitled to his/her opinion but will be expected to think through the reasoning behind opinions and be willing to defend that opinion when questioned by others.

Bibliography

Tribal Regional Groups:

NORTHWESTERN COASTAL--Haida, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Salish, Makah, Quileute, Chemalis, Puyallup, Nisqually, Tillamook, Cooks, Yurok, Tlingit, Chinook

Cruikshank, Julie. Life lived like a story: life stories of three Yukon Native elders. Lincoln: Univ of NE Press, 1992, 1990. (Tlingit, Tagish, Tutchone, 20th century, 404 pp.).

Miller, Jay, ed. Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography. Lincoln: Univ of NE Press, 1990 (Salish, 1888-1936, 187 pp.).

Robinson, Margaret A. A Woman of Her Tribe. NY: Scribner's Sons, 1990. (Nootka, 20th century, 131 pp.).

Spradley, James P. Guests Never Leave Hungry: The Autobiography of James Sewid, a Kwakiutl Indian. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969. (Kwakiutl, 20th century, 267 pp.).

Thompson, Lucy. To the American Indian: Reminiscences of a Yurok Woman. Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1916, 1991. (Yurok, 284 pp., late 19th, early 20th).

PLATEAU--Kutenai, Kalispel, Colville, Spokane, Yakima, Nez Perce, Flathead, Coeur D'Alene, Walla Walla, Cayse

Hale, Janet Campbell. Bloodlines: Odyssey of a Native Daughter. NY: Random House, 1993. (Coeur D'Alene (Skitswish), 20th century, 187 pp.).

Sanford, John A. Song of the Meadowlark: The Story of an American Indian and the Nez Perce War. NY: Harper and Row, 1986. (Nez Perce, 19th century, 297 pp.).

GREAT BASIN--Klamath, Modoc, Bannock, Shoshoni, Paiute, Mono, Ute, Kawaiisu, Panamint

Scott, Lalla. Karnee: A Paiute Narrative. Reno: Univ. of Nevada Press, 1966. (Paiute, 122 pp., late 19th, early 20th).

SOUTHWEST--Havasupai, Walapai, Navajo, Hopi, Zuni, Jicarilla Apache, Pueblo, Mescalero Apache, Papago, Pima, Maricopa, Mohave, Yaqui

Bandelier, Adolph. The Delight Makers. (pre-contact) (Pueblo).

- Bennet, Kay and Bennett, Ross. A Navajo Saga. San Antonio: Naylor Co., 1967 (239 pp. novel, 19th c.) Navajo.
- Betzinez, Jason with Wilbur Sturtevant Nye. I Fought With Geronimo. Lincoln: Univ. of NE Press, 1959. (mescalero apache, 209, late 19th and early 20th century, d. 1958).
- McCarthy, James (John G. Westover, ed.). A Papago Traveler. Tucson, AZ: Sun Track and Univ. of Arizona Press, 1985. (Papago, 194 pp., 20th century).
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- Webb, George. A Pima Remembers. Tucson: Univ. of AZ Press, 1959) (Pima, 20th century, 126 pp.).
- Yava, Albert. Big Falling Snow. Albuquerque: Univ. of NM Press, 1978. (b. 1888, d. 1980, 150 pp) (TEWA-HOPI).
- GREAT PLAINS**--Piegan, Cree, Assiniboine, Hidatsa, Mandan, Arikara, Santee Dakota, Yankton Dakota, Pawnee, Northern Cheyenne, Arapaho, Omaha, Oto, Kansa, Osage, Iowa, Kiowa, Southern Cheyenne, Crow
- Crow Dog, Mary with Richard Erdoes. Lakota Woman. (Lakota Sioux, 20th century pp.).
- Goodbird, Edward. Goodbird the Indian: His Story. (As told to Gilbert L. Wilson). St. Paul: Minnesota Historical society Press, 1985). (Hidatsa, late 19th century, 75 pp.).
- Hungry Wolf, Beverly. The Ways of My Grandmothers. NY: William Morrow Co., 1980. (late 19th, early 20th, 249 pp.). Blood.
- La Flesche, Francis. The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe. Madison: Univ. of WI Press, 1963. (Omaha, 19th century, 152 pp.).
- Lancaster, Richard. Piegan: A Look from within at the Life, Times, and Legacy of an American Indian Tribe. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., Inc. 1966. (Piegan, 20th century, 359 pp.).
- Two Leggings: The Making of Crow Warrior. New York: Crowell, 1967. (late 19th c., 200pp.) (CROW).

EASTERN WOODLANDS--Ojibwe, Menominee, Sauk and Fox, Illinois, Kickapoo, Winnebago, Kaskaskia, Miami, Shawnee, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Susquehanna, Mattaponi, Tuscarora, Catawba, Pequot, Abenaki, Narraganset, Wampanoag

Apess, William. "A Son of the Forest." in On Our Own Common Ground. Amherst: Univ of Mass. Press, 1992. (early 19th c. Pequot 115 pp.).

Blacksnake, Governor. Chainbreaker: The Revolutionary War Memoirs of Governor Blacksnake as told to Benjamin Williams. Lincoln: Univ. of NE Press, 1989. (Seneca, Revolutionary War and after, 265 pp.).

Bruchac, Joseph. Dawn Land. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, Inc., 1993. (Abenaki, pre-history, novel, 317 pages).

Graymont, Barbara, (ed.). Fighting Tuscarora: The Autobiography of Chief Clinton Rickard. Syracuse: Syracuse Univ Press, 1973). (Tuscarora, 20th century, 168 pp.).

Jackson, Donald, (ed.). Black Hawk: An Autobiography. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1964. (Sauk, 19th century, 156 pp.).

Lurie, Nancy Osterreich. Mountain Wolf Woman, Sister of Crashing Thunder. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961. (Winnebago, 108 pp., b. 1884, mostly 20th c.).

SOUTHEAST--Chickasaw, Choctaw, Caddo, Waco, Natchez, Creek, Hitchita, Alabama, Seminole, Cherokee, Yamasee, Apalachee

Baird, W. David, (ed.). A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy: The Autobiography of Chief G. W. Grayson. Norman, OK: Univ of OK Pres, 1988. (Creek, 19th century, 164 pp.).

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Owens, Louis. The Sharpest Sight. Norman, OK: Univ. of OK Press, 1992. (20th century, Choctaw, fiction, 263 pp.).

METIS

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THE PROBLEM OF MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES IN A COURSE
ON THE WOUNDED KNEE MASSACRE

by
Jeffrey Ostler
University of Oregon

In the fall of 1990, in my first year of teaching the history of what is now the western United States at the University of Oregon, I was assigned to teach a course called "The Study of History." This course was intended to introduce history majors to the methods of historical research and analysis. Since it was the one hundredth anniversary of the Wounded Knee massacre, an event I knew little about, I decided that I would attempt to teach students about doing historical research and analysis through an intensive investigation of the massacre and the events leading up to it. The purpose of this paper is to summarize the course and to offer some reflections about the question of dealing with multiple perspectives.

There were fifteen students in the course. We met for two and one half hours once a week for ten weeks. The bulk of our time was taken up with a discussion of secondary and primary sources. Each student was required to do the readings, participate in discussions, and write a 10-15 page research paper.

I had the students begin by reading Robert Utley's Last Days of the Sioux Nation (1963), which (unfortunately, in my view) remains the standard scholarly account of the Lakota Ghost Dance and the massacre at Wounded Knee. After reading this secondary account, the students then considered several primary sources, which I had collected and made available in a documents packet.

(There is a listing of these documents at the end of this paper). These documents included local newspapers, reports of government officials, testimony of soldiers and Lakotas gathered by the Army's Wounded Knee court of inquiry (held in January 1891), statements by Lakotas and other Indians appearing in government sources as collected by the ethnologist James Mooney, and statements by Lakotas gathered by James McGregor and Eli Ricker. To this documents packet, I added two essays that I thought would supplement the other materials: Calvin Martin's "The Metaphysics of Writing Indian-White History" (1987) and Raymond DeMallie's "The Lakota Ghost Dance: An Ethnohistorical Account" (1982).

My main objective in the course was for students to critically analyze the secondary and primary materials. As the course progressed, it became evident to many students that Utley's interpretation relies primarily upon the military documents and basically follows what the Army itself said at the time to justify its invasion of Lakota territory and the subsequent massacre. In Utley's account, the Lakota Ghost Dancers bear ultimate responsibility for the massacre, since they "perverted" the original teaching of Wovoka by turning it into a "militant crusade against the white man" (Utley: 87). Many students recognized that this interpretation was little more than an apology for the Army and that, as such, it ought to be subjected to critical scrutiny. In the same way, many students were able to see that Utley's account of the massacre itself was biased, because he privileged certain accounts (primarily the Army's) over others. One question I asked students was whether or not it was actually true, as Utley alleged, that most of the

Indian testimony (in McGregor and Ricker) was so "incoherent" as to be useless. Most students could see that Joseph Horn Cloud's account, for example, was perfectly coherent and offered a different, more plausible account than much of the military testimony. Moreover, students could see that the accounts of the many Lakota women gathered by McGregor, when looked at carefully, revealed much about the humiliation they endured while being searched by the soldiers. And finally, a careful consideration of the testimony given by soldiers and officers at the court of inquiry revealed that they had made many statements that were simply preposterous. For example, Major S. M. Whitside contended that the Indians fired at least fifty shots before the soldiers returned fire. Students found it interesting that Utley did not mention this part of Whitside's testimony, probably because it was so obviously fallacious and would have impeached Whitside's credibility about other matters.

By the end of the course, most students had seen that although Utley's account **appeared** to be authoritative, it was not really so. The question, then, became: is it possible to arrive at a more accurate, yet still authoritative account? While the course did not resolve the epistemological issues that arise from posing such a question, we did conclude that it may well be very difficult to arrive at an authoritative account of an event like the massacre at Wounded Knee, simply because there are many conflicting accounts. I also pointed out that, although the course had gathered together many different perspectives from various written sources, the written record was at best only partial. At the very least, it needed to be supplemented by

contemporary Lakota perspectives, which were missing from the course, although even these might not necessarily lead to one complete, authoritative account.

Some of the epistemological issues that arose in my fall 1990 course also appeared at the seminar on teaching and writing reservation history held at Crow Agency in June 1994, where there was a great deal of discussion about the importance of bringing in "multiple perspectives" in courses dealing with Native American history and culture. The need for multiple perspectives was generally seen as encompassing both Indian and non-Indian viewpoints. Much of the discussion at the seminar seemed to indicate that people felt that the presentation of multiple perspectives was sufficient to the problem of coming to a better history and overcoming past limitations and distortions in the writing of history. I agree with the need to consider as many perspectives as possible and to treat various perspectives respectfully. Moreover, it is especially important to try to bring in more native perspectives, since these have often been absent or distorted in written works of history. But there was little discussion at the seminar about how historians might go about evaluating the validity of conflicting perspectives, and it seems to me that this is part of the work of historians (at least sometimes). There may be certain situations in which it would be undesirable to question the validity of certain perspectives; however, there are times when it is important to subject statements about historical events to critical scrutiny. As my summary of the course above indicates, certain perspectives that appear in the documents are clearly wrong. It is not the case,

as soldiers claimed in January 1891, that they tried to avoid killing Lakota women and children. Nor is it the case that the Lakota Ghost Dancers intended to provoke an Indian "uprising," as the Army contended. It may not be possible to uncover the complete "truth" about what happened and why, but a course that merely presented various perspectives without subjecting them to critical examination would fail to discriminate between clearly erroneous interpretations and those which at least are plausible. Since the written history of relations between Indians and non-Indians in North America has often been based upon distortions and falsehoods, an approach that merely presents multiple voices will in the long run, it seems to me, prove debilitating in the work of revising histories that have been produced by the colonizers. Without the capacity to distinguish among multiple perspectives, we will be unable to deconstruct false accounts, let alone construct accounts that are closer to what actually happened.

As a footnote, I might add an update about materials that would be available for teaching a similar course now. Since I taught this course in fall 1990, some new materials have appeared, which would be useful for a similar course in the future. A video documentary produced by the Lakota people, The Seventh Generation, presents the viewpoint that the massacre was premeditated by the Seventh Cavalry. There was also a great deal of press coverage of the massacre in conjunction with the centennial. Of particular interest is a Lakota Times special issue titled "Wounded Knee Remembered: 1890-1990."

READINGS
HISTORY 307
STUDY OF HISTORY
FALL 1990
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

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3. Raymond J. DeMallie, "The Lakota Ghost Dance: An Ethnohistorical Account," Pacific Historical Review 51 (November 1982): 385-406.
4. Report of Major General Nelson A. Miles from the Secretary of War, Annual Report, 1891, pp. 132-150.
5. Report of Commissioner T. J. Morgan in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, pp. 123-135.
6. Report of Agent J. George Wright in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, pp. 410-412.
7. Statement of V. T. McGillicuddy (former agent at Pine Ridge) in James Mooney, The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890 (1896), pp. 831-833.
8. Statement of Bishop W. H. Hare in Mooney, Ghost-Dance Religion, pp. 840-42.
9. Report of Captain J. H. Hurst in Mooney, Ghost-Dance Religion, pp. 836-838.
10. Report of Agent H. D. Gallagher in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1890, pp. 48-51.
11. Letters of T. J. Morgan to the Department of the Interior in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, pp. 182-200.
12. Report of Lt. Col. E. V. Sumner in Secretary of War, Annual Report, 1891, pp. 223-237.
13. Letters by Genl. Thomas H. Ruger in Secretary of War, Annual Report, 1891, pp. 189-191.
14. Porcupine's account in Mooney, Ghost-Dance Religion, pp. 793-796.
15. George Sword's account in Mooney, Ghost-Dance Religion, pp. 797-798.

16. William T. Selwyn's letter recounting his interview with Kuwapi in Mooney, The Ghost-Dance Religion, pp. 799-801.
17. "Messiah letters" in Mooney, Ghost-Dance Religion, pp. 779-781.
18. Letters about the killing of Sitting Bull in the report of the Standing Rock Agency in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, pp. 328-338.
19. Report of Capt. E. G. Fechet in Secretary of War, Annual Report, 1891, pp. 197-199.
20. Capt. E. G. Fechet, "The True Story of the Death of Sitting Bull," Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska Historical Society, 2d ser. vol. 2 (1898): 179-190.
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22. Excerpt from Stanley Vestal, Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux (1932), pp. 293-307.
23. Mary Collins' account in Stanley Vestal, New Sources of Indian History, 1850-1891 (1934), pp. 61-72.
24. "The Sioux Millennium," Mandan Pioneer, Sept. 26, 1890.
25. "Mr. Sitting Bull," Bismarck Daily Tribune, Oct. 30, 1890.
26. "The Indian Scare," Bismarck Daily Tribune, Nov. 18, 1890.
27. "Still Excited," Bismarck Daily Tribune, Nov. 19, 1890.
28. "Mere Precautions," Bismarck Daily Tribune, Nov. 19, 1890.
29. Item in the Mandan Pioneer, Nov. 28, 1890.
30. Letter to the editor in the Mandan Pioneer, Dec. 26, 1890.
31. "Another Account," Omaha World-Herald, Dec. 30, 1890.
32. Lt. John C. Gresham, "The Story of Wounded Knee," Harper's Weekly, Feb. 7, 1891.
33. Frederic Remington, "The Sioux Outbreak in South Dakota," Harper's Weekly, Jan. 24, 1891.
34. W. F. Kelley, "The Indian Troubles and the Battle of Wounded Knee," Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska Historical Society 4 (1892): 40-43.
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43. Testimony of Captain C. S. Ilsley in WKIR.
44. Testimony of H. J. Howlan, WKIR.
45. Testimony of Frog, WKIR.
46. Testimony of Help Them, WKIR.
47. Testimony of Rev. Francis M.J. Craft, WKIR.

Writing Family and Community Histories: A Series of Hurdles

by
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In the autumn of 1990, my Lakota studies and history colleagues at Oglala Lakota College asked me to teach "Writing Your Family and Community History" for their majors. With some naivete, I imagined a course which would combine aspects of the Foxfire approach to "cultural journalism" with my students' existing knowledge of research techniques from freshman English. However, as I looked down that road, I didn't anticipate the many hurdles which I was later to face in pulling together such a course. In similar fashion, when I prepared a presentation for the summer participants which led to this paper, I didn't anticipate that many of the hurdles discussed in this paper are not unique to my situation and may be found in many different courses which involve a focus upon the oral tradition.

Recent conversations with others who have taught similar courses, both in tribal colleges and in mainstream institutions, have helped me understand that at least some of these hurdles are familiar to many instructors. As part of an attempt to continue such discussions among teachers of similar courses, this paper will focus upon the struggles of one tribal college teacher learning how to teach a course entitled, "Writing Your Family and Community History." The paper will deal with the following problems: the materials available, the use of storytelling as a rhetorical device, the use of multiple viewpoints, the students' knowledge of recent reservation history, the use of interviewing

in a traditional culture, and the students' problems with writing itself.

The setting

The students discussed in this paper attend Oglala Lakota College on the Pine Ridge Reservation and are adult students in their 30s and 40s, who have numerous family and job responsibilities in addition to their roles as students. They elect to take the class either because it is required for their degree in Lakota studies or history, or because they are interested in the subject matter. The teacher discussed in this paper is the writer, a non-Indian, and a former VISTA volunteer, who has taught English composition and literature at Oglala Lakota College for over eighteen years. The college discussed in this paper, Oglala Lakota College, is a tribally chartered, decentralized college whose campus is literally the entire Pine Ridge Reservation. In each of the nine reservation districts, there is a local college center where classes are held for community and district residents. Connecting and coordinating the activities of these nine centers is a central administration building complex, Piya Wiconi, which also houses the library. The library and central administration buildings are located in the reservation's geographic center, near Kyle, South Dakota. While the library provides outreach books and services in each college center, the archives is essentially based in the central administration complex. To use the archives, students must travel anywhere from ten to one hundred and twenty miles round trip.

Materials Available for the Course

The first problem I faced in developing a course where beginners would try to write a family or community history was the need for materials which were readily available early on in the course. Our own library, which has an excellent Native American collection, often did not have the type of archival materials students request in such a course. Students soon discovered that unless they came from the limited number of extended families who figured heavily in the Fort Laramie/Fort Robinson/Wounded Knee periods, very little was available to them in books and periodicals. And, while materials were available in other archives and libraries, I soon learned that students who do not have extensive experience with family research are easily discouraged when they must wait, sometimes for weeks on end, for materials to arrive. It soon became clear that the Oglala Lakota College archives needed to have its own family and community history collection.

The idea of establishing such a local collection grew from dreams of taking students to existing collections. I knew from conversations with local historians that Fort Laramie had materials which might be helpful to my students. In addition, I learned that the University of South Dakota at Vermillion housed an excellent oral history collection. Later I learned that Fort Robinson, the Fur Trade Museum in Chadron, Nebraska, the Nebraska Historical Society, the Mari Sandoz Collection at the University of Nebraska, and the Colorado Historical Society all would be excellent places for my students to visit. But to take my students to all of these collections was an impossible dream.

Besides the difficult financial problems involved in transporting students to these collections and housing them on site, came student problems with family and job responsibilities, problems which made it virtually impossible for them to be gone for more than one or two days. Therefore, the collections would have to come to the students. And they did.

With two different grants from the South Dakota Committee on the Humanities, I was able to travel to all of the collections mentioned above and to make copies of everything I found therein relating to families and communities on the Pine Ridge Reservation. With the permission of all archives visited, I then indexed these materials and placed them in the college archives where they have received heavy use by students as well as community members ever since. While I realize that this may seem an idealistic solution to others in my situation, it is a solution I recommend to people who enjoy archival research. The materials located were, for the most part, fascinating to me. Most importantly, the reading of these materials for indexing purposes greatly enhanced my own preparation for teaching the course.

Storytelling and the Writing of History

It was in the indexing of these archival materials that I rediscovered the impact of story and storytelling upon the historical perspective of my students, and how that perspective informed the rhetorical patterns with which they most comfortably wrote history. Generally speaking, most historians employ narrative (chronological) structures when explicating an

historical event. However, I found that the narrative structures which were most comfortable for my students seemed much like the narrative structures used by storytellers. That is to say, the writing had a personal, subjective tone rather than the scholarly, objective tone which I kept trying to teach. I fought this tendency dutifully until I discovered winter counts in my archival research mentioned above.

One of the documents I discovered in the archival research mentioned earlier was a collection of Lakota winter counts from the Bureau of Ethnology Reports dated from 1882-1883. Winter counts, used by pre-reservation Lakota historians to help maintain the band history, were pictographs originally drawn on hides, but in the reservation period were also drawn in ledger books. Every year members of individual bands selected the most significant event of the year, or winter, to be added to the winter count in pictograph form. Thus each pictograph represented the story of an entire event, a story which was well known to the keeper of the winter count, a story which could be told whenever a listener requested it, or when the situation required.

While I had heard of winter counts for many years, this was my first experience with the detailed reading of a group of winter counts. The Bureau of Ethnology Report included not only the pictographs, but also a brief translation of the story represented by each pictograph. These stories, short as they were, told a powerful tale:

1781-1782: "Many died of small pox."

1821-1822: "They had all the mini wakan (spirit water or

whiskey) they could drink. They never had any before."

1825-1826: "Many of the Dakotas were living on the bottom-lands of the Missouri River, below Whetstone, when the river, which was filled with broken ice, unexpectedly rose and flooded their village. Many were drowned or else killed by the floating ice. Many of those that escaped climbed on cakes of ice or into trees."

Most of these stories are lost to history. All we have are these brief translations of the skeleton of what was once a detailed, dramatic story. Near the end of one Oglala winter count, however, came stories I knew from my reading and research:

1871-1872: "John Richard shot and killed an Oglala named Yellow Bear, and the Oglalas killed Richard before he could get out of the lodge."

1872-1873: "Antoine Janis' two boys were killed by Joe Richard."

1877-1878: "A soldier ran a bayonet into Crazy-Horse and killed him in the guard house at Fort Robinson, Nebraska."

In fact, it was because I knew the details of the three stories mentioned above, stories rich in drama and powerful human interaction, that I realized what had been lost when the keepers of the winter counts died and no one who could tell all of the stories on the winter count remained. But I realized something else as well, my students had a model for writing history which was very old, one to which they naturally seemed to be drawn: storytelling.

Storytelling, after all, is the central device used by oral cultures throughout the world to impart values, wisdom, history, tradition, religion and law to the peoples of that culture. In order for families in an oral culture to teach children what it means to be a member of that culture, parents and grandparents

repeat stories that were told to them for the same purpose. The children hear the stories over and over until the stories are memorized and morals of the stories sinks in: "This is how to behave. If I disregard tribal values and instruction, bad things may happen to me." In a similar manner, stories and rituals are repeated over and over in religious ceremonies and celebrations until the children have memorized them: "This is what we believe. This is how the world works." And, in a similar manner, children learn the history of their people: "Crazy Horse was a great leader. This is the way it was" (see Ong, Orality and Literacy, 1982).

My students and I have now begun to explore ways to write family and community histories which flow more naturally from this storytelling tradition. I realize that storytelling is not a new trend in the writing of family and community history. However, I am still experimenting with ways to help students create a chorus of stories, stories from many viewpoints, to produce a more balanced account of events. No matter what I do, I still can't shake the sense that students must learn to be objective. I draw solace, however, from the increasing numbers of articles in professional journals which are written as personal narratives.

Objectivity, Multiple Viewpoints, and the Oral Tradition

In fact, it was this quest for objectivity that led me to reconsider (once again) whether objectivity was even a possibility for any historian. I do not wish to pretend here that I am introducing anything fresh and startling. Instead, I

simply wish to add this footnote to the ongoing discussion: With students who are strongly influenced by an oral tradition, the typical approaches to teaching objectivity through the examination of multiple viewpoints may be a surprising, and in some cases, a disappointing exercise.

The case in point was a selection of eye witness and second-hand accounts of the killing of Crazy Horse at Fort Robinson in September of 1877, which I had obtained from an archival trip to Fort Robinson. I introduced the packet early in the course to help students experience a multiplicity of accounts all recording a single event. These were some of the same materials that Mari Sandoz had studied in writing Crazy Horse, and assuming that the students would arrive at conclusions similar to hers, I had planned to share Sandoz' account of the event in Crazy Horse when the students had completed the exercise. However, because student conclusions were far from what I had predicted, I never did introduce the Sandoz account.

The exercise was structured around the central question: Who killed Crazy Horse? But before students were allowed to answer this question, they were asked to analyze each of seventeen different accounts of the incident. I asked the students to create a chart which answered the following questions for each of the seventeen accounts:

1. Who is reporting the incident?
2. Where was the person who is reporting the incident when Crazy Horse was killed?
3. When was this report recorded, written or reported?
4. According to this account:
 - a. What did Little Big Man say to Crazy Horse?

- b. What did Little Big Man do to Crazy Horse?
 - c. Where was Little Big Man when Crazy Horse was stabbed?
5. What weapon was used to stab Crazy Horse in this account?
6. Who actually stabbed Crazy Horse according to this account?

Because most of the accounts, Indian and white, say that Crazy Horse was stabbed by the bayonet of a sentinel, identified later as William Gentles, I expected that my students would come to that same conclusion after reviewing the evidence. Because there were varied accounts of the role of Little Big Man, ranging from valuable friend of Crazy Horse to accidental slayer of Crazy Horse, I had expected to use the accounts to help students sort out the role of Little Big Man. I expected to teach students to examine the credibility of witnesses, the patterns of information presented, and the time when the account was actually recorded. We would give special attention to eye witness accounts of the event by credible witnesses recorded as soon as possible after the actual death of Crazy Horse. What I had not anticipated, however, was that all students in my class would believe that Little Big Man had actually killed Crazy Horse. They were not swayed in the least by the preponderance of eye witness accounts to the contrary. Instead, they chose to believe the one account that implicated Little Big Man, that of John G. Bourke, recorded in On the Border with Crook:

"Little Big Man" himself assured me at the Sun Dance in 1881 that he had unintentionally killed "Crazy Horse" with the latter's own weapon, which was shaped at the end like a bayonet (stiletto), and made the very same kind of a wound. He described how he jumped on "Crazy Horse's" back and seized his arms at the elbow, and showed how he himself had received two wounds in the left wrist; after that, in the struggle, the

stiletto of the captive was inclined in such a manner that when he still struggled he cut himself in the abdomen instead of harming the one who held him in his grasp. "Little Big Man" further assured me that at first it was thought best to let the idea prevail that a soldier had done the killing, and thus reduce the probability of any one of the dead man's relatives revenging his taking off after the manner of the aborigines. The bayonet-thrust made by the soldier was received by the door of the guard-house, where "Little Big Man" said it could still be seen. I give both stories, although I incline strongly to believe "Little Big Man" (Bourke: 422-423).

That my students believed Bourke's account surprised me at first, because most of the Indian accounts identified the soldier, William Gentles. However, the students simply explained that Bourke's version was the accepted account in their own oral traditions. Therefore, the credibility of that account, a confession in fact, was enough for them. No matter what approach I used, the students were unshakable. At the end of class, a lesson had been learned by the teacher rather than by the students.

Clearly, for my students, the issue of the witness credibility is paramount. Moreover, for them credibility is primarily established through information learned from their own extended family's oral history. As a result, I have learned how hard it will be for me to predict ahead of time how a particular class might react to any given set of archival materials. Their reaction will largely depend upon who is in the class and what their extended family history has been. Students will ask themselves what historical and contemporary relationships their families have had with the witnesses in question. All evidence will then be examined in that light. Without question, this is a subjective approach to affirming witness credibility, but it is

not an approach I have been able to alter in any appreciable way. This was a frustrating lesson for me, but most certainly, this was not the only lesson I learned.

Focusing upon Recent Reservation History

After reading the initial group of final papers for the course, I realized that there was no mention in students' family and community histories of any of the broader social and historical events which impacted the reservation during the periods they were describing: the IRA government debate, the dust bowl and depression, the boarding school era, World Wars I and II, Korea and Vietnam, and the relocation era. From my perspective, it appeared that either students had no broad historical context into which they could place these stories, or they were not inclined to make use of the historical context which they did have.

Until recently, most of the course work in our Lakota Studies Department has focused upon pre-reservation times and the Indian Wars. Therefore, I decided to add readings to the course which would reflect the period from 1900 to at least the 1950's. We used selections from such works as Organizing the Lakota by Thomas Biolsi, and Education and the American Indian by Margaret Connell Szasz to strengthen students' knowledge of tribal and educational trends which still impact their lives today. I also added some oral histories from a book I had written entitled, Teaching on the Reservation: Reflections of the Period Between the Wars. Each reading assignment was accompanied by the request that students discuss the material with an elder and bring to

class the reactions and stories gleaned from this person.

While the students dutifully did as I asked for each assignment, and told me they were learning a great deal from the experience, my most recent set of final class papers show no evidence of this material. In fact, the students neither mentioned nor referenced any of the printed materials and background materials provided to them. Instead, the papers remain in the storytelling mode I mentioned earlier, based only in the experience and storytelling of the students' informants.

I have at least two interpretations of these results: (1) The teaching technique is flawed in that it did not achieve the desired results; and (2) My students have consciously or unconsciously rejected the idea of placing their histories in the standard, larger contexts created by trained historians.

I find the second alternative intriguing. Throughout all of my academic life, even in grade school, I learned to place specific events in a broader, historical context. While I was in college during the 1960s for example, I read any number of articles exploring how the 60s would be interpreted by historians. In like fashion, within a few days after taking office, President Clinton could read any number of articles analyzing the "Clinton Era." Throughout my childhood, this approach to history was reinforced in the books, newspapers, radio and television which filled our home. Therefore, it can sometimes be difficult for me to recognize that others do not share this same orientation.

My own grandmother, for example, drew a total blank when I once asked her in a taped interview about her impressions of the

"roaring twenties." She had never viewed the 20s as a specific period in her life, and she had little to offer about being a flapper or drinking bathtub gin or any of the other events I had hoped she would relate. Reading that interview now, fifteen years later, I realize that my orientation to the twenties as a specific period blinded my abilities as an interviewer. I kept trying to make my grandmother's experiences fit into an historical schema. By so doing, I wasn't tuned in to my grandmother's world view.

I am fairly certain that the elders interviewed by my students also experienced their lives apart from analytical, historical constructs. And, by permitting these elders to construct their own historical realities, my students are discovering how these elders interpreted their own lives and histories. This is a valuable enterprise in my estimation, and the papers which result from this approach are lively and thoughtful, true contributions to the recorded history of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Do I therefore reject the goal of asking students to also place these histories into the broader historical contexts which historical analysis seems to demand? No. Instead, I prefer to see a continuum here. The students in my class have tremendous strengths as recorders of local perspective. I think it is important to embrace this skill and give the resulting student histories sincere praise. However, I also think it is important to continue to work with students on historical context. What may be most valuable here is for students to understand more clearly the contexts which the elders and other informants themselves bring to the histories they are

telling. Consequently, as a teacher, I have to learn how to help students do this type of analysis.

Thus, if I wish to give students a broader history within which to frame the family and community stories, and if I want that broader history to show up in their writing, I need to find other ways to embrace my students' strong preference for writing about the experience of their informants, and at the same time help them write about the larger, locally constructed, historical contexts into which these stories might be placed. In addition, through this process it is possible that the standard historical contexts may also enter the conversation, as a means of comparison if nothing else.

Interviewing Techniques in an Oral Tradition

This is not to say, however, that students found interviewing to be an easy aspect of the course. In some cases, they were highly resistant to the requirement that they interview people for their papers, and especially that the interviewing be done with tape recorders and prepared questions. Once again, I had a great deal to learn about doing such work in an oral culture.

Most of the reference books I used for the course had the standard approach to the oral history interview:

1. Know the background material and/or history before you go to the interview.
2. Prepare questions ahead of time, but always be ready to adjust and change it to fit the situation.
3. Make an appointment, and set up the interview in a comfortable place.
4. Tape the interview if at all possible. If this is not

possible, take notes.

I encouraged the students to follow this procedure, stressing the importance of careful and accurate information gathering since they were doing original research which could be placed in the college archives when they were finished. Next we practiced interviewing each other in class, and finally the students received training in transcription of taped interviews. After several weeks of such preparation, I felt they were well prepared.

The reality for the students, however, was far from the textbook model. They found that some people equated them with non-Indian anthropologists: "Who do you think you are, and what are you going to do with this material? Are you planning to sell our history to the highest bidder? Why should I talk to you?" Other people felt uncomfortable with the tape recorder. In the experience of most elders, the stories were told over and over until the listener had memorized them. The tape recorder, in their perspective, was foreign and intrusive. The students were told that if they wanted to learn, they must learn in the old way--by listening. Thus, note taking was also seen as an intrusion. One student described listening as hard as she could and then occasionally excusing herself to go to the outhouse where she frantically wrote down as much as she could remember of what she had heard. She continued with this tactic until the four hour long interview was completed.

As a result, few of the papers contained the verbatim quotes which one often sees in oral histories. With few tapes and notes to rely on, the students instead used their memories of the

stories, using summary almost exclusively. Even the students who were able to tape their interviews summarized rather than quoted. Moreover, I suspect this will be the technique OLC students will use to report interview information until I can find local writing models which the students can accept as valid models which are also acceptable to elders in the community. To date, the use of off-reservation writing models has had little impact.

Writing Concerns: Skills and Broader Fears

The final hurdle I attempted to leap in "Writing Your Family and Community History" has been in the actual writing of the histories. Two separate problems arise here. The first deals with writing skills and students' perception of those skills. The second deals with the idea of the reservation community as audience and the idea of "selling our history."

First, the problem of writing skills is a real issue for many tribal college teachers. While our writing program is very strong at Oglala Lakota College, it is not an instant cure-all for students whose writing skills are weak or rusty. Therefore, students whose central goal is to write a history need writing practice before attempting this final project. One solution to this problem has been the introduction of mastery learning exercises along with the use of lap top computers. This past spring I asked students to write short essays or stories based upon the background reading they were doing with the work of Thomas Biolsi, Margaret Connell Szasz and my own book. The writing was done in class on lap top computers unless the student preferred to hand-write the assignment. The first writing was

considered a draft and was turned in before the student left class. The writing was read and returned to the student for corrections at the next class meeting. Because the writing was on a computer disk, the revision process was not difficult for most students. Indeed, by writing and revising on a weekly basis early in the class, writing skills were refreshed, and I was able to work with student writing needs on a one-to-one basis.

The issue of who would be the ultimate audience for the work the students were doing in class, however, was not so easily resolved. Initially, I had told the students that their work would be placed in the Oglala Lakota College archives unless they objected to this idea. They did object. Students were very uncomfortable with the possibility that non-Indian researchers would have free access to the work they were doing. They were very sensitive to the idea that they could be accused of "selling the history" of the Lakota people. Indeed, some even felt uncomfortable about creating a class book because once something was put in writing it could have a life of its own, and the students would lose control of how the information would be used. In a nutshell; they did not wish to be seen as "the other" by their own communities.

In addition, students were torn by family stories which they described as dysfunctional. Stories of alcoholism, physical abuse, and abandonment were difficult to hear, and students were not certain how or if they should be put in writing. My own suggestions to students dealing with these serious, emotional issues included:

1. Tell the stories straight and with a sense of humor.

They happen to everyone and need to be told. Use humor because its our survival tool. Tell the stories straight because denial never helped anyone.

2. You can decide what to tell and what not to tell. If you want to avoid the skeletons now, then avoid them. Later in your life you may be more ready to tell the harder stories. Tell them when you are ready.
3. Imagine your grandchildren as your audience. Tell the story the way you would want them to hear it as teenagers. Imagine what they could learn from the experiences of others.
4. Read the works of contemporary Native American writers like James Welch, Leslie Silko, Adrian Louis, Louise Erdrich, Michael Dorris and others to see how they have dealt with the same types of stories in fiction.

While the suggestions offered above did provide some solace and support, in no way did they "solve" students problems with their relationship to their audience. Indeed, it is much easier, in my estimation, to deal with concerns of writing skills than it is to deal with these more socio-psychological issues, because it is in this realm that the teacher becomes counselor, a role many of us assume with inexperience and discomfort.

Conclusion

I am well aware that this paper raises more questions than it answers. Clearly the hurdles of obtaining archival materials, incorporating storytelling as a rhetorical device, and working with student writing skills are the easier areas to address, and indeed, this paper did present some solutions to those teaching hurdles. However, the challenges involved in using multiple viewpoints in close-knit oral cultures and of encouraging students to record their own oral histories calls for more investigation. In fact, none of the hurdles discussed in this paper have totally been "cleared." In parallel fashion, I often

had the same experience in running the hurdles in high school gym class--I kept hitting my knees on the hurdles. Yet somehow I managed to get over them. Although I was bruised and sore, they didn't stop me. I hope that others running similar obstacle courses will not stop either, and instead will gain some assistance from the coaching this article may have provided.

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**"Teaching a Course on Native American Women:
Colonization, Resistance, and Survival"**

by
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I began teaching a course on Native American women at the University of Montana in 1981. I later taught the same course at the University of Oregon as a graduate teaching fellow (while working on my Ph.D. in sociology). In 1987, I relocated to Bozeman where I joined the faculty at Montana State University's Center for Native American Studies. I was at MSU for five years and taught the course on Native women at least once, sometimes twice, a year in a quarter system.

I had many years to refine this course, and various audiences to react to me, my teaching style, and the material presented. In addition to a strong community of women of color, the University of Oregon, where I was for five years, had real-life, left-over hippies from the 1960s. Mistakenly, I learned to accept this environment as "real" when I relocated to Montana State University. This school of 10,000 students was located in a sparsely populated state and had approximately 150 Native students. The majority of students were mostly white from small-town Montana and Wyoming; and, yes, most of them were red-neck, racist, sexist, ignorant, and reactionary. Luckily, the Native women's class did not draw the red-necks; instead, this upper-division seminar class was typically filled with Native women and older white women. A few brave (no pun intended) Native men would enroll. However, no white man at MSU ever took the course. Several years ago, I accepted a position at the University of

California at Berkeley (UC-B) and moved to the Bay Area. I redesigned the course to fit a new audience.

The audience, specifically racial/ethnic composition and class status, is important to a teacher. Various audiences require a restructuring of the course to fit their needs and interests. I have taught at a variety of institutions of higher learning, ranging from a tribally controlled community college (Salish Kootenai College) to a research university. The course is taught differently when the audience is mostly Native American than when it is students from various racial/ethnic backgrounds. For example, when the audience is primarily Native, I make fewer comparisons to other ethnic groups and more inter- and intra-tribal comparisons. And, when I taught the class at MSU, where the majority of Native students are Crow, I used Pretty Shield as one of the required texts.

I endorse the notion that there is a reflexive awareness of difference, and suggest that different people and cultures are just different. At the UC-B, students of color are 52% of the total population (or so I was told); thus, they are able to compare the experiences of Native women to their own diverse communities. Typically, in the Native women's class at the UC-B, 2 students out of 20 may be Native. The remainder will be approximately 3/4 students of color and 1/4 white. The majority of the students will be women, with about 4 men out of a total of 20 students. Furthermore, the students at Berkeley are the best I have encountered. Not only are they well-read critical thinkers, they appear to thirst for knowledge.

The course remains designed as an upper-division seminar,

hence I do very little lecturing. You will notice on the syllabus that students are responsible for leading discussions. My role in the classroom is one of facilitator. Moreover, many students at Berkeley do best when not lectured to--they want to wrangle with concepts and discuss social theory. I must admit that, although students at the UC-B are the brightest of any institution I have been affiliated with, there are still distressing (albeit humorous) times. For instance, on a midterm exam I asked a question regarding a short story, "American Horse", by Louise Erdrich. One student answered: "(An) article by Louise Erdich (sic) that discusses the introduction and importance of the horse into the plains culture and how it has affected their lives. The significance of the horse is that it has taken away old practices & ideals of the natives..." I was not sure what to make of this, besides the fact that clearly this student did not do the reading. I told the class that several students provided such ingenious wrong answers that I was going to compile them and write an article.

Also, I had several non-Native students who thought because they were well-read on issues concerning Native people that they knew more than I did as the professor. This type of racism is especially nauseating to me. (I easily grow tired of the assumption of white superiority.) My friend Annette Reed-Crum, who is teaching this class for me while I'm on leave from the UC-B, said she has one such student this semester who fits this description. This white woman marched into Annette's class on the first day, and not only proclaimed to be an Indian expert, but also introduced herself to the class as a doctor of

"Oriental" medicine. At the risk of stereotyping, I must say that generally these types of students hold a romantic notion of Native people and their past and present lifestyles. This was very common at the University of Oregon and the University of California: however, it was not common at Montana State University or Salish Kootenai College. Because of this attitude, I include an article in the course reader on New Age mentality, appropriation of culture, and racism.

Along with a syllabus, students are given a reading list of articles that are in the course reader, and a bibliography on Native women and related literature. Because students are responsible for a major project at the end of the term, they should initiate their research at the beginning of the semester. The bibliography is an aid for them and, because there is limited information on Native women, students should examine related literature. The bibliography loosely is arranged by topic, since more than one topic may be included in one book or article and topics overlap. Regarding the final projects, I urge Native students to personalize and research their tribal communities. Projects may take the form of research papers, analytical oral histories, art, theater, films/videos, short stories, and so on. I encourage students to be as creative as their imagination allows. Additionally, I advise students to think critically and write analytically. The projects are to be fun and exciting, yet prepared with the spirit of analysis.

The required texts and articles in the course reader change with the institution and my personal taste. The course reader I compiled (authors and articles are summarized in a handout simply

titled, "Reading List - Native Women," but are fully cited in the bibliography) is flexible enough to flow whatever direction the students desire. Course readings are drawn from many disciplines including sociology, history, political science, anthropology, literature, and art. Thus, the course is truly interdisciplinary, as well as comparative, and a wide range of themes and issues are presented. Each semester the students define the theme for the term; given their collective interests the focus appears to naturally emerge by midterm. For example, one semester the students decided to focus on Native women and violence; another semester it was family and community. Last spring, I had a group of wonderfully bright and clever Korean American women who belonged to a group on campus called, "Korean Women With An Attitude." (Wow! Imagine if these women were to come across the white woman who defines herself as a doctor of "Oriental" medicine.) These women, as well as other students in the course, shifted the focal point to Native women and resistance. Carol Devens' book, one of the required texts, is specifically about resistance and there is much to draw on regarding this concept from the other required texts, readings, and films. I also make use of both documentary and feature films. The films break the monotony of class meetings and are excellent learning tools. They humanize experiences and provide feelings that one cannot get from a "scientific" study, whether it is qualitative or quantitative (although some scholars are producing wonderful qualitative work). The films also provide material for discussion on Native women and images. The notion of how Native women are imaged is specifically discussed and

there are several readings pertaining to that topic (for example, Sarah Winnemucca and her "princess" costume, and the article on Native women and stereotypes by Rayna Green).

In the first few classes, I discuss various theories of race/ethnic relations, feminist theory, and theories of class. It is important to set theoretical foundations for social realities such as: Women of color on average receive the lowest earnings and, if they are employed, they tend to be employed in the worst jobs. And, women of color are more likely than white women to live in poverty and to be single mothers. The course examines why Native women are subordinated in Euroamerican society. Thus, an analysis of the patterns of domination and oppression based on race, class, and gender are paramount. The social position of Native women today is analyzed by examining the impact of colonization on their roles and statuses. I rely heavily on Eleanor Leacock and Mona Etienne's work to lay the conceptual foundation for colonization, along with Robert Blauner's work on internal colonialism. I depend on Patricia Hill Collins and Margaret Andersen's work, in conjunction with a new book edited by Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill, when discussing the interrelationship of race, class, and gender. Similarly, the social constructions of race, class, and gender are examined. Regarding the social construction of gender, it is exciting to explore gender identity using Evelyn Blackwood's article on cross-gender females and Will Roscoe's article on the Zuni man-woman. Blackwood's article centers on role flexibility, and Roscoe's work encourages us to rethink gender as a rigid physical category. These readings provide remarkable class

discussion. As the course progresses, students are encouraged to bring to class examples of the interrelationship of race, class, and gender. I use examples in class from Matt Snipp's book, American Indians: The First of This Land (1989), which uses data drawn from the 1980 census. Moreover, the required text by Devon Mihesuah analyzes the education of Cherokee women from 1851-1900 using race, class, and gender as critical variables in the interpretation of their experiences. This well-researched book is ideal for the course design.

The class is presently created to focus on the roles and status of Native women through time and place. The course is, therefore, designed as a chronology of Native women ranging from precontact to present day. Consequently, history and historical evidence are significant to the course. While preparing the course I make the most of historical data. For instance, I am researching imprisoned Native men and women, and the social construction of "deviance." One woman from my reservation, Clarice Paul, was accused of murdering a white man in 1908. Her story not only speaks to the notion of resistance, but depicts how Natives were viewed in Montana during that time-period. The newspaper accounts of the event are excellent documents to copy and bring to class. As well, I add her family's account of the event--a story I have heard many times from her son.

In addition, the story of the first imprisoned Native woman in Montana's Territorial Prison is fascinating history. At the Montana Historical Society's archives, there are letters from the prison warden to the governor about this Canadian Cree. These are copied and handed out in class for discussion. The documents

reveal the relationship between Natives and white in the state of Montana during the late 1800s, as well as the treatment of women in the criminal justice system. As a sociologist I am interested in archival materials that allow me to examine social processes and structures in addition to the construction of narratives of past events and circumstances. Moreover, students are encouraged to interpret historical events from their own perspectives. The course is based on the notion of relativism and, thus, there is no absolute truth; rather there are individual interpretations and perspectives.

The course on Native American women is a great deal of fun to teach. The students and I learn a great deal from each other. As a Native woman, I have many experiences to contribute to the class. The class, as a seminar, permits such contribution.

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NAS 149, Fall 1994
Dwinelle
Professor: Luana Ross

Office: 3415
Phone: 642-6717

NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN

Course Description

This course is designed to provide a historical background of the process of colonialism and its subsequent impact on the roles and status of Native women. Furthermore, the impact of race, gender, and class on the lives of Native women will be discussed. For instance, are prejudice and the resulting discrimination against gender manifested in the same way as against race? What are the social realities of Native women when race and gender merge? Answers to these questions require both historical and contemporary analysis of the social organization of race and gender in American society and the dynamics of the social relations between them. The class will, thus, provide an opportunity for group analysis of issues relevant to Native women in both a historical and contemporary context.

Text

- *Course Reader (on reserve at the NAS library located at 103 Wheeler & Moffitt library)
- *Paula Gunn Allen, Spider Woman's Granddaughters
- *Carol Devens, Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900.
- *Mary Crow Dog and Richard Erdoes, Lakota Woman
- *Louise Udall, Me and Mine
- *Gae Whitney Canfield, Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes
- *Devon Mihesuah, Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1901.

Requirements

Midterm Exam (worth 100 points)
Final Exam (worth 100 points)
Final Project (worth 200 points)

Final projects may take the form of a term paper or lecture, or they may be more innovative involving the use of theater, film, videotape, etc. Possible topics and format will be discussed in detail in class. The topic and format must be approved by the professor.

Final letter grades will be calculated based on the number of points earned divided by the total number possible and translated to a percentage.

Films

Mistress Madeleine
Places Not Our Own
Mother of Many Children
Hopi: Songs of the Fourth World
The Journey
To Heal The Spirit
Getting Out
Incident at Oglala

Course Outline

The class will be divided into six groups. Each group will be assigned readings from the list presented below. Each group will select a spokesperson to present to class three discussion questions drawn from the readings.

Topic

Reading

I. Sociology of Native Women

- A. Sociological & Historical Perspectives
- B. Theoretical Constructs

Allen p. 1-30
Reader Frye, Yamato, Canaan, McIntosh, Bonacich, and Langston
film - Mother of Many Children

II. Traditional Role & Status

- A. Female Power
- B. General Roles
- C. Identity & Role Flexibility

Reader Powers and Allen p. 62-64; 65-68; 125-128
Reader Buffalohead
Reader Blackwood, Roscoe, and Medicine

III. Transitional Role & Status

- A. Images
- B. Colonization
 - 1. Fur Trade
 - 2. Education
- C. Life Story (S. Winnemucca)

Reader Green and Allen p. 31-33
Devens
Reader Rothenberg, Klein, Perdue, Mathes
Wright
film - Mistress Madeleine
Reader Szasz and Allen
69-78 Mihesuah
Canfield

IV. Twentieth Century Role & Status

- A. Effects of Colonialism

Reader Klein; Allen p. 48-61; 111-124; 146-167
film - Places Not Our Own

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Discrimination | <u>Reader</u> Chato and Conte |
| 2. Violence | <u>Reader</u> Herman, Allen,
LaPointe, Allen, Bachman;
Allen p. 168-187
film - The Journey |
| 3. Sexism, Racism, and
Native Women in Prison | <u>Reader</u> Sugar & Fox,
Bloomer
films - To Heal the
Spirit; Getting Out |
| 4. Decolonizing | Allen p. 229-244; 245-255

Allen, Jaimes & Halsey,
Smith
Udall, Crow Dog and
Erdoes (H. Sekaquaptewa &
M. Crow Dog)
films - Hopi: Songs of
the 4th World;
<u>Incident at Oglala</u> |
- B. Life Stories

Luana Ross
Fall 1994

READING LIST - Native Women (NAS 149)

Topic I

- Allen (text): p. 1-30, Introduction
Frye (reader): "Oppression," in Race, Class, and Gender (Andersen & Collins, 1992).
Yamato (reader): "Something About The Subject Makes It Hard To Name," in Race, Class, and Gender (Andersen & Collins, 1992).
Canaan (reader): "Brownness," in This Bridge Called My Back (Moraga & Anzaldua, 1981).
McIntosh (reader): "White Privilege and Male Privilege," in Race, Class, and Gender (Andersen & Collins, 1992).
Bonacich (reader): "Inequality In America: The Failure of the American System for People of Color," in Race, Class, and Gender (Andersen & Collins, 1992).
Langston (reader): "Tired of Playing Monopoly?" in Race, Class, and Gender (Andersen & Collins, 1992).

Topic II

- Powers (reader): Chapter 2, "The Buffalo Nation," in Oglala Women (Powers, 1986).
Allen (text): "The Warrior Maiden," "The Woman Who Fell From the Sky," and "The Beginning and the End of the World."
Buffalohead (reader): "Farmers, Warriors, Traders: A Fresh Look at Ojibway Women" (1986).
Blackwood (reader): "Sexuality and Gender in Certain Native American Tribes: The Case of Cross-Gender Females" (1984).
Roscoe (reader): "The Zuni Man-Woman" (1988)
Medicine (reader): Chapter 9, "'Warrior Women' - Sex Role Alternatives For Plains Indian Women" (Albers & Medicine, 1983).

Topic III

- Green (reader): "The Pocahontas Perplex: the Image of Indian Women in American Culture" (1976).
Allen (text): "A Woman's Fight"
Rothenberg (reader): "The Mothers of the Nation: Seneca Resistance to Quaker Intervention," in Women and Colonization (Etienne & Leacock, 1980).
Klein (reader): "The Plains Truth: The Impact of Colonialism On Indian Women" ((1983).
Perdue (reader): "Cherokee Women and The Trail of Tears," (1989).
Mathes (reader): "Nineteenth Century Women and Reform: The Women's National Indian Association" (1990).

Szasz (reader): "'Poor Richard' Meets The Native American" (1992)
Allen (text): "As It Was In The Beginning"
Wright (reader): "Economic Development And Native American Women
In The Early Nineteenth Century" (1992)

Topic IV

Klein (reader): "Contending With Colonization: Tlingit Men and
Women in Change," in Women and Colonization (Etienne &
Leacock, 1980).
Allen (text): "American Horse," "The Warriors," and "The Disposal
of Mary Joe's Children."
Chato and Conte (reader): "The Legal Rights of American Indian
Women" (Schlissel, Ruiz, & Monk, 1988).
Herman (reader): "The Rape Culture" (Freeman, 1984)
Allen (reader): "Violence and the American Indian Woman" (1985).
LaPointe (reader): "Boarding Schools Teach Violence" (1986)
Allen (reader): "Angry Women Are Building: Issue and Struggles
Facing American Indian Women Today," in The Sacred Hoop
(Allen, 1986).
Bachman (reader): Chapter 6, "Violence in Indian Families," in
Death & Violence on the Reservation (Bachman, 1992).
Sugar and Fox (reader): "Nistum Peyako Seht'wawin Iskwewak"
(1990)
Allen (text): "Grace," and "Deep Purple."
Allen (reader): "Who Is Your Mother? Red Roots Of White
Feminism," in The Sacred Hoop (Allan, 1986).
Jaimes and Halsey (reader): "American Indian Women At the Center
of Indigenous Resistance in Contemporary North American," in
The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and
Resistance (1992).
Smith (reader): "For All Those Who Were Indian in a Former Life"
(1990).

Student Centered Tribal Histories: HyperCard and New Narratives¹

by
Craig Howe
University of Michigan

Teaching and writing are two very distinct and separate activities often conflated by professional academics.² When the issue is "Teaching and Writing Local History" (by what is meant "Teaching and Writing Tribal History"), the conflation is even more encompassing. What should be the central foci of inquiry--tribes--become subjugated to "history" through the adjective "local". Tribes thereby are displaced by space (locality) which in turn is made subservient to time (history). And with the practice of teaching subsuming the activity of writing, critical inquiry into teaching and writing tribal histories is deflected into broader discussions of merely improving the teaching of history.

The Newberry Library's Indian Voices in the Academy Faculty Development Program seminars provide an excellent opportunity to reconsider our presentations of tribal histories. A lasting impression from the seminar at Little Big Horn College in Crow Agency, Montana, was of a very pervasive undercurrent of Crow history by Crow persons that flowed differently than the history about Crow people by non-Crows. The contrast, like a shoreline undertow, is startling.

Non-Crow history is linear, or sequential, in that it is written. We read left to right, top to bottom, beginning to end. Its a beginning-top-left to ending-bottom-right narrative predicated upon the written English word. This sequentiality is

usually organized temporally, though sometimes authors use non-chronological devices, such as flashbacks or dreams to present their narratives. Even so, the author's intent is that the reader read beginning-top-left to ending-bottom-right.

Crow history, on the other hand, as I heard it, was event centered: here something happened and so-and-so was present. The trigger for the recollection of these oral narratives (whether spoken or sung) might be a place in the landscape, or a particular word, or someone's name, even a picture or song. As the story was being told, often another trigger would be tripped and yet another narrative shared. Connections between narratives were made by the narrator on the spot. Their imaginations and creative abilities were constantly employed to produce "dynamic, integrating and grounded" (Albers 1994) narratives. Instead of exhibiting a fixed sequentiality, these relationally embedded narratives were full of "permutations, additives, chance, and mortalities" (Vizenor 1984: 27, quoted in Albers 1994).

The majority of academics have not critically examined the beginning-top-left to ending-bottom-right scheme of presenting Indian history, be it through our writings or our teachings. Solutions do not lie in catchy course titles or more inclusive course content. No. We must rethink classroom organization. Student learning should be promoted and our performance with regard to student learning evaluated. Otherwise, we will continue teaching methodologies (predominantly the "presentation" types which "emphasiz[e] the role of teacher as presenter of knowledge" (Kraft 1985: 153)) which encourage skills development of teachers but not of students. The presentation of tribal

histories likewise requires rethinking. For if we do not critically consider new methods of presenting tribal histories from a tribal perspective, we will simply perpetuate "European-derived discourses [that] suppress, alter, and even displace the voices of First Nations people" (Albers 1994). To present these new perspectives, we need new narratives by new narrators in newly organized and oriented classrooms.

With regard to the general goal of promoting student learning, we use group-inquiry in our classrooms. Group-inquiry classrooms are student-centered instead of teacher-dominated. In such classrooms, "the students conduct the class. They read, inquire, write, work together, and present orally. They simply take over. And they do it in every class meeting, in a structured series of activities defined and organized by a teacher who acts as a kind of chief executive officer" (Kraft 1985: 151). Based on students' works and evaluations, my own experiences, and various researches (see Kraft 1985), group-inquiry types of teaching are far superior to all others in promoting student learning. In our classrooms, student work is cumulative, on-going, process oriented. All assignments may be resubmitted for comments, editorial suggestions, and a grade as many times as a student desires. Students work on projects simultaneously as individuals, as teams, as task groups, and collectively as a class. Creativeness is openly encouraged, though there are established guidelines, such as attendance, project requirements, and due dates, which may not be breached without substantial reduction in grade. These strictly enforced guidelines promote an orderly progression to our work and a fair,

even, and public basis for evaluation. They also allow a wide latitude for individual choice, for self-determination. In complete agreement with Kraft, "I now believe [teacher-dominated practices] must be abandoned in favor of something like group-inquiry" (Kraft 1985: 149).³

The remainder of this essay, then, provides a brief glimpse of how we attempted to achieve tribal histories from a tribal perspective through a course titled "Others' Voices: Native American Narratives" which was developed at the University of Michigan and offered during the winter semester of 1992 in the American Culture Program.⁴ In part, the course description included the following:

This course is organized around three types of Native American narrative texts: Tribal life narratives involve looking back at historical and prehistorical events; Intertribal narratives explore the emergence of pan-Indianism, Red Power and Indian Nationalism; and Personal narratives from individuals born since 1934 will give us insights into growing up Indian in our modern world. In parallel with these narrative texts, particular events will be viewed within four contexts: federal Indian policy at the time of these events, the people, their lands and their religions. We will explore these latter three contexts through Native American literatures, films, musics and paintings. These multimedia texts will predominantly focus on events that occurred east of the Rockies, south and west of the Missouri, and north of the Red River, from time before non-Indians to this year's Ann Arbor Powwow.

There are two projects we will accomplish this term. The first involves mapping the contexts of tribal narratives, creating landscapes that are culturally specific, historically based and mythically charged. These mappings will be compiled into a computer application (HyperCard) that incorporates multimedia texts in an interactive format. Previous experience with HyperCard is not required....

A spatial domain described by natural geographic features provided a common ground for mapping key events in the tribal journeys of Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Lakotas. Students organized themselves into three teams: Team Kiowa, Team Cheyenne, and Team

Lakota. Each team dealt exclusively with materials pertaining to one tribe and was responsible for collecting, evaluating, organizing, and presenting their materials to tell a history of that tribe. Thus, the course did indeed deal with tribal histories of three tribes.

The issue of tribal perspective is far more complex. As mentioned earlier, Crow history from a Crow perspective is fundamentally different than Crow history from a non-Crow perspective. By extension, tribal histories may be either tribal or non-tribal. Tribal history from a tribal perspective incorporates a whole constellation of interrelated orientations which are herein condensed into four characteristics.

First, and perhaps most self-evident, a tribal perspective is tribally specific. Though writing about Indian literature, Dorris (1979: 147) illustrates the obliteration of tribal identities through use of the term "Indian": "If there had been a North American language called 'Indian,' the mode of communication within a society called 'Indian,' then there would undoubtedly be something appropriately labeled 'Indian literature.'" The multitude of nations collectively labeled "Indian" by Europeans each have their own histories--their tribal histories. Furthermore, a tribal orientation supports sovereignty of Native nations, something our teachings and writings should perpetuate. Tribes--not Indians--are sovereign.

Second, a tribal perspective views land as extremely important. "American Indians hold their lands--places--as having the highest possible meaning, and all their statements are made with this reference point in mind" (Deloria 1973: 75). The

relationship between land and people--between a land and a people--is eternal. "The story of my people, and the story of this place, are one single story. No man can think of us without also thinking of this place. We are always joined together" (Rollins 1992).

Third, a tribal perspective employs, in some fundamental sense, tribal cosmologies as organizing principles. According to Deloria and Lytle (1984: 8):

The idea of the people is primarily a religious conception, and with most American Indian tribes it begins somewhere in the primordial mists. In that time the people were gathered together but did not yet see themselves as a distinct people. A holy man had a dream or a vision; quasi-mythological figures of cosmic importance revealed themselves, or in some other manner the people were instructed. They were given ceremonies and rituals that enabled them to find their place on the continent. Quite often they were given prophecies that informed them of the historical journey ahead. In some instances the people were told to migrate until a special place was revealed.

We see here the important interrelationship and cosmic beginnings of community, land, and religion: "When lands and peoples are both chosen and matched together in a cosmic plan, the attachment to the land by the people becomes something extraordinary and involves a sense of identity and corresponding feeling of responsibility" (Deloria 1992: 31-32). Viewed in this light, tribal communities are "guided by internal prophetic instructions rather than external political and economic events (Deloria 1992: 32). Tribal communities, therefore, are fundamentally and originally spiritual associations with eternal ties to particular landscapes. Moreover, because these ties are mythic in origin, they are by definition out of chronological time. They are sacred and therefore eternal.

Finally, a tribal perspective includes "globs of experiences" relating to particular events and concrete "things." Event-centered tribal histories are based on the idea that "Identity is a conception of and feelings about the events which a people have lived. It is the meaning of events in which one's ancestors took part, in ways that make one proud, which differentiate people into ethnic groups" (Sawyer 1976: 203). Deloria (1978) too says that instead of writing about Indians between two points in (abstract) time, a tribal perspective says, "Ok, we're going to talk about a particular thing we used to do. And we talk about things." He then goes on to say that "all aspects of culture that deal with that thing," or event, should be presented as "globs of experience that have implications for all kinds of things; and I think that's what the oral tradition always was." Oral tradition is thus allied with a tribal perspective, as are all narratives in any media which are related to a people's experiences.

To summarize: basic attributes of histories from a tribal perspective include (1) tribal specificity, (2) spatiality, (3) religiosity, and (4) non-sequential multimedia texts. Can histories be written from such a perspective? No. History from a tribal perspective cannot be written. Though it is possible to write from a tribally specific spatio-religio perspective, it is impossible to write non-sequentially in multiple media. Therefore, tribal histories from a tribal perspective must be presented in some form other than written documents. Fortunately, technology has finally advanced far enough to accommodate a tribal perspective.

Since the release of HyperCard in 1987, it has been possible for tribal histories from a tribal perspective to be presented outside of traditional tribal settings. HyperCard is "an implementation of a concept originally christened **hypertext** and more recently expanded in scope and dubbed **hypermedia**" (Vaughan 1988: 23). Ted Nelson, who coined the term "hypertext" in 1965, stated that "By hypertext I mean non-sequential writing" (quoted in Vaughan 1988: 23). Basically, "hypertext is alive. A hypertext document makes it possible for someone to click on a word and have it take him to other words and phrases in the document that help describe its meaning. Hypertext provides the ability to link related concepts and jump from place to place as information needs warrant" (Vaughan 1988: 30). "Hypermedia is an extension of hypertext's non-sequential concept to include all forms of stored information--graphic, films, video, music, etc. as well as the written word" (Vaughan 1988: 25). We see, then, that HyperCard provides a way of presenting multimedia texts in a non-sequential format--of presenting information from a tribal perspective.

In order to collect multimedia narratives pertaining to each of the three tribes, we crosscut the three teams with four task groups: Visual/Audio, History (Native), History (non-Native), and Mythic/Cosmic. Each task group was responsible for certain types of information yet shared resources which overlapped our artificial categories.

Visual/Audio located and secured photos, maps, paintings, musics and speeches pertaining to tribal experiences. They identified the land losses and current land holdings of each

tribe and represented them graphically on a map. They also collected photographs of individuals and landmarks mentioned in our texts. History (Native) compiled materials dealing with tribal events from Native viewpoints. First preference was for texts by members of that tribe; second preference to non-member Native Americans. In addition to written documents, their materials included winter counts, oral histories and other non-written sources. History (non-Native), on the other hand, located and became familiar with general histories produced by non-Natives and were concerned with the dominant non-Native viewpoints of tribal events. Their sources were typical history textbooks, plus photographs, newspaper articles, speeches, testimony and other resources. Finally, Mythic/Cosmic identified a tribe's major cultural actors, where the people originated, where and why they moved, and the stories about their landmarks.

In addition, there were two more task groups--Federal Indian Policy and Software Editors--which functioned more like the three tribal teams. Federal Indian Policy developed a time line of major policies concerning Native Americans collectively. They also located and incorporated all treaties, agreements and executive orders with each of the three tribes. Software Editors helped design the visual and structural organization of HyperCard.⁵ They also learned to import and edit text files, scan photos and other graphics, and record audio and video sources, all of which were provided by their classmates.

Each team was thus comprised of students who were also members of task groups. Similarly, the students in the Federal Indian Policy and Software Editors task groups each decided to

choose one tribe to align themselves with, and be responsible to. Having established teams and task groups, we then had to choose some experiences in the histories of each tribe that informed their conception of themselves as a distinct group of people.

Each team was provided a list of preliminary events which in turn was modified as they deemed necessary. After the key events were decided upon for the three tribes, their locations were indicated on a base map which was scanned onto a HyperCard card. (A card is simply what information appears on within HyperCard. A set of cards is called a stack.) Those locations were indicated by buttons. By clicking on a button, other cards with information pertaining to that place and the event(s) which happened there were brought into view.

When the base map appeared initially on the computer screen, none of the thirty plus location buttons were visible. There were two ways--one tribal, the other temporal--to bring them into view. Users were required to choose Kiowas, and/or Cheyennes, and/or Lakotas, and then by sliding a bar along a scale from "long time ago" to 1992, a particular point in time. Thus, if the time bar was set to 1787 and the chosen tribe Kiowas, four buttons appeared on the base map: one at the head waters area of the Yellowstone River, another on the eastern slope of the Rockies, a third at Devil's Tower, and the fourth at the Black Hills, as that's as far south as Kiowas were around then. The choice could then be made as to which of the four to click on to learn about the event(s) which happened there.

In addition to the time bar and choice of tribes on the initial card, there was also a button for Indian policy which

accessed a series of chronologically arranged cards containing key pieces of Indian policy, from 1492 to 1992. So, with the time bar at 1787, one could see the locations of key events in the history of Kiowas up to that time, or of Cheyennes, or Lakotas, or even any combination of those tribes. Plus, by clicking on the policy button, one could read synopses of major Indian policies passed then or around that time.

The four series of cards (one for each tribe and another for Indian policy) were combined into one set, a HyperCard stack. The stack was organized by the locations of tribal events, beginning with emergence into this world and continuing to today. The mapping of these events created landscapes which were tribally specific, historically based, and mythically charged. Moreover, where a tribe's experiences intersected--either spatially or temporally--another tribe's experiences, a layering of narratives resulted in a multivocal intertribal landscape. Similarly, where a tribe's experiences intersected--again, spatially or temporally--their own experiences, there too a multivocal landscape resulted, though in these instances an intratribal multivocality. The resulting landscapes were complex palimpsests, linked and interlinked by hypermedia. Landscapes are joined to people through narratives. In turn, those narratives can be linked to photos and biographies of their narrators, to tribal language dictionaries where users can hear the words pronounced and where they can add new words or different definitions if so inclined. All these informations can be further linked to film and video footage, audio recordings, and written texts pertaining to particular landmarks and events

which happened there. The informational possibilities are endless: our creativity and the initiative of students the only limitations. These multimedia "globs of experiences," organized so users can choose their own paths through the stack of information (moving up and down through layers and before and after in sequence), are attributes of HyperCard which facilitate a modern contemporary presentation of tribal histories from a tribal perspective.

But to focus solely on the HyperCard stack as a physical product, even when acknowledging its processual use, is to miss the dynamics of its production. All the content of the stack was "written" by students. Instead of some professional academic, students were the decision makers, the new narrators. Within a group-inquiry environment, HyperCard enables student narrators to create tribal information stacks from which users create their own new narratives, their own tribal histories. And when those users include the students themselves, the new tribal histories truly are student centered.

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Endnotes

1. "Student Centered Tribal History: Hypercards and New Narratives" was a preliminary title suggested by Dr. Hoxie while we were at Little Big Horn College. Even though he heard only a brief description of how our class was organized, his title has remained highly appropriate.
2. For example, of the nine essays under "Teaching and Writing Local and Reservation History: Lac Courte Reilles" (Newberry Library 1994), not one dealt with writing history, or with writing tribal histories. All nine essays focused solely on teaching.
3. Though not explicitly group-inquiry, Robertson's article "Teaching Tribal/Reservation History ON the Reservation: The Community and the Classroom Together" (in Newberry Library 1994), provides a rare glimpse at a non-presentation pedagogy and its potential to empower and motivate students.
4. For a brief overview of the role of Native American studies courses at major urban universities, plus typical demographics of students attending those courses, see O'Brien's "Teaching Tribal/Reservation History to the Masses" and Treat's "Teaching Tribal/Reservation History 'OFF' the Reservation," both in Newberry Library (1994) "Teaching and Writing Local History."
5. The University of Michigan Instructional Technology Laboratory provided software, hardware, and a place for the Software Editors to work. Laurie Crum, then director of ITL, provided invaluable assistance with all aspects of the project.

**The Montana Indian Studies Law:
an Experiment in Legislating Ethnic Understanding**

by
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When the Montana Indian Studies Law was first enacted by the Montana Legislature in 1974, it was widely praised as an unprecedented effort to preserve and extend knowledge and understanding of Indian cultures. Tribal leaders and social advocates from several other states, such as South Dakota, New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah, sought information about the law for their own jurisdictions. School districts, the Montana University System, and public school teachers, all of whom were most affected by the legislation, moved generally with good will to the provisions of the law. Even journalists and the general public initially applauded the intent of the law.

Yet, in less than five years the law was repealed after widespread attacks from Right Wing organizations, White supremacists, and a small minority of recalcitrant teachers who refused to comply with the law and threatened court action if compelled to do so. The Republican leader of the State Senate, Stan Stephens, who later was elected governor, made the law a major campaign issue. He attacked it as a "bad idea in the first place" and as an unwise attempt to legislate school curriculum. The fate of the law ended the efforts of the State's largest teachers' union, the Montana Education Association (affiliated with the National Education Association), to become the chief union advocate for teachers of higher education in the State. Governor Thomas Judge, who had initially signed the joint

resolution into law, issued an unprecedented plea by sending personal letters to all school districts in the State to comply with the provisions of the law even after its repeal. For a seemingly minor legislative joint resolution, which appeared to command broad support throughout the State asking them when it was passed, this legislation left a residue of racial resentment, union rivalry, and political and personal antagonism that still persists.

What was surprising to supporters and most opponents of the Indian Studies Law was the level of hostility, threatened violence, and even eruptions of violence that developed among the law's more radical opponents. There were reports of anonymous notes and phone calls, slashed tires, fired administrators and faculty members, and even rock throwing and gunshots directed against supporters of the law.

The legislative joint resolution that became known as the Montana Indian Studies Law grew out of an effort to put into educational practice a provision of the newly revised State Constitution, which committed into legal terms the policy of Indian self-determination begun under the Kennedy Administration and received welcome bipartisan support from the famous statement of "Indian Self-Determination" by President Richard Nixon. The new Montana Constitution (1972) contained a forceful provision opposing the assimilation of Indian cultures and pledging educational practice in the State "to the preservation of the cultural integrity of the American Indians" (see Article X, Section 1).

In the era of ethnic good-feeling following passage of this

provision in the new Constitution, the Montana Indian Studies Law, designed to put this Constitutional provision into practice, directed the Montana Board of Public Education and the Board of Higher Education (the Montana Board of Regents) "to devise a master plan for enriching the background of all public school teachers in American Indian culture" (House Joint Resolution No. 60, 1974). Passing both House and Senate with little opposition, this resolution resulted in a requirement that the Montana University System offer Indian Studies coursework for teachers suitable to fulfill the academic purpose of the resolution. To maintain their teaching credentials, all public school teachers were themselves required to take six quarter credits of "approved Indian Studies coursework" within eight years or attend an equivalent number of approved Indian Studies "in-service workshops" sponsored by individual school districts. Teachers who went on to take fifteen credits of approved coursework could gain an Indian Studies endorsement on their teaching certificates (see my article on "Native American Studies and Teachers' Licensure," Occasional Papers in the Curriculum Series, No. 16, Newberry Library, 1994). Approval of Indian Studies coursework and in-service workshops was placed in the hands of a committee of the State Office of Public Instruction made up of representatives from each of the seven reservations in the State and from faculty members of the University System's Indian Studies programs.

Neglect of American Indian Studies programs by the Montana University System produced one of the strongest arguments in support of passing the legislated mandate for Indian Studies.

The contrast between comparatively liberal support of the Black Studies program at the University of Montana and minimal support of the Indian Studies program--despite the much more numerous community served by Indian Studies--was often cited to illustrate that higher education, as amply illustrated by the studies of Thomas A. Mulkeen, seldom has acted on its own for social reform without the prompting of outside influences. Legislation was deemed necessary to push the University System to provide adequate faculty, advisement, and curriculum to support viable Indian Studies programs and the large number of students interested in such a curriculum.

Besides the constitutional foundation for the legislation and the rationale of educational reform, House Joint Resolution 60 committed the State of Montana to the preservation of the cultural integrity of Indians for various other historical and cultural reasons. The Resolution stated that the culture of the American Indian "has been fundamental in the formation, favor, and history of the State of Montana" and that the history and current problem of the State could not be understood apart from the "problems and contributions of the American Indian." Particular reference was made to the separate and "unique psychological history" of Indian peoples, which could be "understood only by people who have either experienced or studied history" from an Indian point of view.

Both teachers and students in the State of Montana, the Resolution continued, "are at present substantially undereducated in the history, values and culture of American Indians as seen by Indians." This lack of education contributes to the problems

of Indian peoples, which "are compounded by a general lack of understanding of the unique background of Indian students and their families."

Clearly, based on these statements, the Resolution viewed Indian Studies not simply as an important area of educational enrichment, but also as necessary for the ethnic education and reform of the State in general. As Thomas Mulkeen notes, when an "educationally less favored" group is ignored to the extent of producing a "discouraged and disgruntled attitude," it may be necessary for the State itself to take a hand in educational reform. Despite its ultimate repeal, the effects of the Indian Studies Law were generally advantageous, and it should be regarded as a successful legislative experiment.

REPEAL OF THE MONTANA INDIAN STUDIES LAW

A Favorable Resolution of the Teachers' Union

Support or at least lack of opposition to the Indian Studies Law by the teachers' unions of Montana was vital to its political success; few politicians in the State would risk unnecessary opposition from the well-organized teachers' groups. The Montana Federation of Teachers (affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers) immediately expressed its support. The Montana Education Association (affiliated with the National Education Association) was more circumspect with its position. Eventually, a reversal in its public stance led to severe consequences for the MEA itself as well as for the Indian Studies Law.

The compliance date specified in the Indian Studies law by which time all teachers had to complete their Indian Studies

requirement was July 1, 1979. Although the statute was not entirely clear with respect to the consequences for a teacher or school board that did not comply, it did clearly specify that those public schools covered by the statute "shall employ only those certified personnel who have satisfied the requirements for instruction in American Indian Studies as defined [by the statute]."

As the compliance date neared, most teachers affected by the law fulfilled the requirement. However, although a survey by the Montana Education Association showed that over 80% of affected teachers had complied by 1978, a small number of militant teachers, supported by Right Wing and anti-Indian factions, prepared a lawsuit to test the right of a school district to fire them if they failed to take the required courses. Thus, the MEA was faced with a genuine dilemma. A lawsuit seemed inevitable. Furthermore, if members of the MEA were dismissed as a result of the law, the MEA would be obliged to come to the legal defense of such members.

The legal staff of the MEA explained the dilemma to the MEA Board of Directors as involving two unpleasant possibilities. If a MEA teacher was dismissed, the MEA would either have to come to their defense or face a lawsuit by the dismissed teacher for failing to represent their membership. The cases involved would be expensive because the state statute gave school boards little alternative but to dismiss teachers who did not comply--and to defend their right of dismissal. The case or cases involved would almost inevitably be appealed adding a very large legal expense.

From the perspective of the MEA Board of Directors, the alternative of refusing to take dismissed teachers' cases was untenable but, equally untenable, was the public relations problem faced by the MEA if the cases were pursued. The Higher Education Committee of the MEA, of which I was a member, recommended that the MEA bite the bullet and face the possibility of a suit from dismissed teachers. The committee argued that such suits might not materialize as threatened and pointed out that the MEA had a good defense because it also had to represent the vast majority of its members who had already complied with the law.

In addition, the MEA represented many teachers on reservations and elsewhere who felt strongly that the law should be vigorously supported and that failure of the MEA to do so would represent "another White sell-out of Indians." The MEA represented a strong liberal contingent of teachers who shuddered at the prospect of opposing the law, lest such action might tarnish the image of the MEA as a defender of minority rights, an important image to maintain since the MEA and the National Education Association, its parent union, used that image as an argument to organize minority teachers and other teachers who supported minorities. The Committee on Legal Issues of the MEA, of which I was a member, wrestled with this issue through several meetings without reaching a consensus.

Clearly, however, as the debate went on and involved more of the MEA membership--particularly those who had already complied with the law and resented the possibility that they might have to pay for the defense of teachers who refused to comply--the MEA

Board of Directors and the Executive Committee saw a legislative solution to the problem as the only direction that would save them from either a court case or a rash of negative publicity. The MEA was further paralyzed by surveys of teachers that showed generally favorable results from the Indian Studies programs. Of 212 teachers surveyed who attended one of the conferences, they all felt the experience was beneficial. Additionally, 187 said they understood stereotyping of Indians better as a result of the conference, and 162 said they felt they understood the problems of their Indian students better. Of 234 who answered surveys regarding their attendance at continuing education classes in Indian Studies, only two indicated that they felt the experience of the classes they had taken was not beneficial for them as teachers. Not surprisingly, the MEA Board began to feel more and more strongly that only a legislative solution would take them off the hook, both in terms of possible loss of membership and in terms of the expense and bad publicity of the impending lawsuits.

The enthusiastic idealism which had greeted the law's early passage quickly turned to discussions of how to avoid its inconvenient consequence. Discussion turned from concern for the merits of law itself and its beneficial social effects to cynical considerations of how to oppose the law at the legislative levels while seemingly to defend the rights of both teachers and minorities. To use Herbert Marcuse's terminology, the MEA abandoned any consideration of the Indian Studies Law in terms of critical reason and began to view it only in cynical practical terms. For the MEA, the law had become an embarrassment that might cost them in terms of legal fees and loss of membership.

Higher Education and the MEA Resolution

In 1977, the MEA represented the faculty of two institutions of the Montana University System, Northern and Western. Since higher education had only recently been allowed to unionize in the State, it was viewed as a profitable area for teachers' unions to expand into. The MEA was very interested in cultivating the higher education caucus, but relations between the MEA Board and the higher education caucus was given unexpected encouragement from the Governor's Office.

Governor Thomas Judge, who was a strong supporter of the Indian Studies Law, developed a liaison with the higher education caucus of the MEA to meet opposition to the law. The Governor's Staff concluded that opposition to the Statute by the MEA would cause serious problems with the Legislature. As the largest educational organization in the State, the MEA could command a number of legislative votes, particularly on matters concerning teachers and education.

The lines of support and opposition for Indian Studies were drawn when both sides decided to take the issue to the membership of the union at the annual MEA Delegate Assembly, which has representatives from each union local and set policy for the MEA before each legislative session. The college delegation from Northern, which I chaired, drafted the following resolution to present to the delegates:

Whereas, we as teachers should be on record as opposed to the prejudice and suspicion that has developed concerning the largest ethnic minority of the State;

Whereas, we as teachers should be on record as encouraging a meaningful education for Native American peoples as well as for all other students in the State;

Whereas, the Native American peoples of Montana must be encouraged through education to assume the rightful place that has been denied them as equal citizens and contributing leaders of the State;

Therefore, be it resolved that this Delegate Assembly go on record as favoring the provision that all teachers in the State of Montana should avail themselves of the opportunity to provide themselves with a background in the study of Native American history, literature, and culture;

And, be it further resolved that this Delegate Assembly go on record as favoring the principle that all schools in the State of Montana, public and private, should provide their students in grades K through 12 with meaningful units on the history, literature, and culture of Native American Peoples.

Despite some determined opposition in the Delegate Assembly, this resolution was adopted, and should have become one of the operative principals for MEA lobbying for the coming legislative session. Unfortunately, that was not the case.

Disregarding the 1977 Indian Studies Resolution, several MEA lobbyists and members of the State Board continued to organize opposition to the Indian Studies Law. Strong direction from the Executive Board would have prevented this turn, but complaints from the higher education caucus to the Board were unavailing. As a result of this organized opposition, another resolution, this time calling outright for the repeal of the Indian Studies Law, was introduced in the 1978 Delegate Assembly. The surreptitious support of the MEA Board was clearly visible in the vote that followed. After an acrimonious debate, the resolution calling for the repeal of Indian Studies Law was adopted.

This action was not without its cost to the MEA, however. I walked out of the Assembly, joined by several Indian members and members of the higher education caucus. The higher education delegation from Northern contacted the Montana Federation of

Teachers' Executive Director, James McGarvey, and urged him to visit the Northern campus to organize a new union election. By a single vote in that election, the MFT defeated the MEA as the faculty representative at Northern. A similar result followed in a subsequent union election at Western.

In effect, the action of the MEA with respect to the Indian Studies Law cost it not only a large contingent of Indian members, but also all of its support in higher education. Since that time, the MEA has never been able to gain the votes to become the union representative of any of the campuses of higher education in the Montana University System. Not only was the MEA's influence in higher education ended but, even more significant, its reputation as a spokesperson for Indians in the State was forever tarnished beyond being redeemed.

Conclusion: The Governor's Gambit.

In addition to seeking help from the AFT, the MEA's major union rival in Montana, the dissident MEA members met with Governor Judge, and he pledged continued support. He noted correctly that the action of the MEA Delegate Assembly would likely lead to a legislative repeal of the Indian Studies Law, but that repeal was not as comprehensive as predicted by opponents of the law. The repealed statute was replaced by a permissive statute, which remains in place at present:

Any board of trustees for an elementary or secondary public school district on or for a public school located in the vicinity of an Indian reservation where the enrollment of Indian students qualifies the school for federal funds for Indian education programs may require that all of its certified personnel satisfy the requirements for instruction in American Indian Studies (20-4-213, Montana Code Annotated.)

To encourage local action by school boards, Governor Judge wrote individual, personal letters to all school boards and board members in the State reiterating his support of Indian studies and recommending immediate action on the Indian Studies requirements so that teachers would not be left uncertain of the local requirement. In addition to Indian groups and faculty members from the University System, many local teachers who had already met the Indian Studies requirement petitioned local school boards to continue or even to increase the requirement. The majority of school districts in the State imposed standards similar to those of the Indian Studies Law; some increased the standards, requiring in some cases that teachers meet the certification requirement of fifteen credits. In addition, branches of the University System began requiring Indian Studies as part of their education programs in the State.

Unfortunately, Thomas Judge was defeated in a subsequent gubernatorial election by the very Stan Stephens, Republican Senate Majority Leader, who was the leading advocate seeking repeal of the Indian Studies Law.

Despite its repeal, however, we would have to conclude that in terms of its encouragement of Indian Studies coursework in the University System and in public schools, and its general impact on public school curriculum and teacher education requirements, the Indian Studies Law, although hardly as effective as originally hoped, was successful in attaining its announced goal of sensitizing Montana education to Indian cultures in the State.

Library Classification Systems and Tribal Knowledge

by
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American Indian communities have traditionally valued, classified, stored, and shared important information for their communities. Today, there are libraries, archives, museums, special collections, and information technology to preserve the record and provide access to that record. However, these institutions and collections are usually systems or technology focused. They were not designed to reflect the information seeking behavior of their users. These systems-centered models have not considered how scholars and students who conduct research on American Indian topics go about fulfilling a need to know.

The full impact and richness of a collection requires access and access involves organization. It is important to think critically about how librarians organize resources for use by tribal and non-tribal historians, anthropologists, artists, sociologists, linguistics professors, storytellers and students. Information storage and retrieval systems located in libraries, archives, or museums should be user-centered in order to reflect the way in which users seek information about American Indians. The construction of a user-centered model requires analysis and understanding of how tribal and non-tribal scholars conduct research within these institutions, especially their choice of vocabulary and terminology.

Classification systems which consider naming, identifying,

categorizing, and creating relationships between/among terms are often inadequate for the study of American Indian subjects. Generally, these systems (including but not limited to the Library of Congress Subject Heading) have not considered the nature of categorization systems within a cultural or linguistic context. For example, tribal classification systems were not always based on physical properties, but rather on their usefulness to humans or associations with other "beings" (Kidwell, Clara Sue. "Systems of Knowledge," in America in 1492. New York: Knopf, 1992, p. 375). Kidwell discusses the Navajos who place bats in the same category as insects because of an origin tradition in which insects and bats lived together in a previous world. Classification systems such as the Library of Congress (LC) do not provide a means for researchers to access this information within the cultural tradition of the Navajos. That is, the connection between bats and insects would not be readily discernable within the existing LC system.

Another facet of organizing information is the term or name selected within a classification system. The term, name, or phrase used to designate a person, object, event, or animal is of critical and not accidental importance. Our discussions here at Little Big Horn College often focused on the potency of words and the role of naming within the Crow community. We learned from presentations and conversations with Euna Rose He Does It, Dale Old Horn, Barney Old Coyote, Joe Medicine Crow, Ben Pease, Janine Pease Windy Boy, and Tim McCleary that names carry a vital essence and may effect an individual's behavior. For example, Dr. Barney Old Coyote stated, "When you name somebody, you base

it on truth--base it on fact." He further noted that misnaming someone might result in his/her having an unfortunate life. In discussing the "sacred power of the word," Dale Old Horn emphasized the richness of naming behavior and quoted Old Man Coyote who said, "There's nothing on earth that has only one name."

The etymology of the term "Crow" is an example of the complexity of having more than one name to designate a people. While the word "Crow" is not favored by everyone, it is accepted as somewhat descriptive and neutral. There is a general understanding of who is included in the term. Joe Medicine Crow explains the derivation of the term in his study of the early history of the Crow:

In the Hidatsa language, **Absarokee** means "Children of the Large-Beaked Bird" (absa meaning "large-beaked bird" and rokee meaning "children" or "offspring"). Other Indian tribes called these people the "Sharp People," implying that they were as crafty and alert as the bird absa (probably the raven) for which they were named. In referring to them in the hand-sign language, they would simulate the flapping of bird wings in flight. White men interpreted this sign to mean the bird crow and thus called the tribe the "Crow Indians." (Medicine Crow, Joseph, From the Heart of Crow Country: The Crow Indians' Own Stories. New York: Orion Books, 1992, p. 2).

Unfortunately, the term **absarokee** is not readily discernible through the structure of the Library of Congress Subject Headings. The present subject heading is **Indians of North America-Montana**, and **Crow Indians** as the narrower term.

Some tribes have successfully proposed changes in the subject headings assigned by the Library of Congress. Specifically, those people formerly known as Papago are now referred to as Tohono O'odham. Other tribes, including the Dine (Navajo), Amskapi Pikuni (Southern Blackfeet) and Anishinabe (Lac

Courte Oreilles Ojibwa) are considering similar actions. An important premise of these proposed changes is that the subject (in this case, the people themselves) have some input into determining the appropriate term for tribal identity.

The Library of Congress has been criticized for its inadequate and sometimes inaccurate organization and categorization of American Indian subjects. This discussion of tribal naming behavior and the organization of information suggests an opportunity to integrate tribal terminology into existing classification systems. A merging of these two approaches might more closely approximate the ways in which researchers seek information about American Indians. Little Big Horn College Library and the other tribal college libraries, which seek to preserve tribal culture and provide access to information about tribal cultures, would benefit from a more accurate and precise classification system.

**A Child-Centered Culture: The Crow Indians of Montana
Location, Origins, and Culture History**

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The Crow Indians occupy reservation lands of nearly 3,000,000 acres in south central Montana, lying between Billings, MT in the north and Sheridan, WY to the south. The Crow were hunters of buffalo and in culture were similar to other nomadic groups of the northern plains, such as the Blackfeet, Dakota (Sioux), Cheyenne, Arapaho, Assiniboine, and Prairie Gros Ventre (Atsina). During their buffalo hunting days the Crow in numbers probably never exceeded ten thousand, a figure which they are approaching today.

In origin, the Crow until the seventeenth century were part of a loose confederation of three village-bands (Awatixa, Awaxawi, Hidatsa) historically known as Hidatsa. The Crow began to separate from the Hidatsa shortly after segments of the village-bands migrated from an area west of Lake Michigan to the Missouri River in North Dakota. Some migrants may have arrived as early as 1100 A.D. while final stragglers reached the river during the latter part of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Ahler, Thiessen and Trimble 1991; Bowers 1965 194: 10-25, 481; Hoxie 1989: 21-31).

The conversion of the Crow from part-time horticulturists and hunters to a nomadic hunting life may have begun during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Frison 1979). They probably were drawn from the earliest migrants (Awatixa) and were composed of small family bands with a central core of matrilineal

clanmates. As these family units edged westward on foot toward the Big Horn Mountains and the Big Horn River basin, they ultimately formed the band known as the Many Lodges or Mountain Crow. At a later time (ca. 1625-1675), a band chief of the Hidatsa proper, Chief No Vitals, led a second migration to the west, and his followers formed the second major band, the River Crow (Curtis 1970: 38-39; Medicine Crow 1979; Wood and Downer 1977). A third band, the Kicked In Their Bellies, separated from the Many Lodges around the middle of the nineteenth century (Lowie 1912: 183-84).

Historic Crow culture was part of a cultural efflorescence in the northern plains resulting from the introduction of the horse and of European trade. During this time of culture growth (ca. 1700 to 1850), the Crow transformed themselves from pedestrian plodders to dashing mounted hunters, warriors, and wealthy traders. The new Crow homeland was strategically located in a trade network that in time stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans and also linked the northern plains with the Pueblo Indians of the Spanish Southwest (Ewers 1968; Wood 1980). As middlemen, Crow traded horses and craft goods obtained from the Shoshone, Nez Perce, and Flathead Indians west of the Rockies for maize, decorated leather goods, and European hardware at villages of the Mandan and Hidatsa in North Dakota (Voget 1984: 8-13).

During their cultural efflorescence, the Crow, as other northern plains tribes, were free traders who expanded the size of their tepees, added home comforts, intensified craft skills, increased their population, and developed a stratified social and

political order. The horse was responsible for much of the new domestic comforts, plentiful food, ease and mobility of seasonal movements, heightened interpersonal competitions, and the militarization and increased complexity of the social order. Mounted horsemen were able to assemble buffalo in greater numbers by massing herds for a community hunt under a leader supported by military fraternities. The band emerged as an effective ecological, political, and military unit headed by a more powerful figure, the Chief. The relative independence of bands restrained development of a tribal chief, although the bands might get together occasionally to socialize and hunt during the summer. At such times a "real chief" was designated to regulate the camp and hunt operations. The rise of tribal chiefs generally was a response to efforts of trading companies and the federal governments to develop a central authority which could be depended upon to negotiate and execute agreements. The recognition of a tribal chief intensified during the 1850s and 1860s with the signing of treaties establishing tribal lands and reservation boundaries.

New economic opportunities made available by trade and horse raiding heightened competition in a race for personal wealth, reputation, and leadership. The Crow formalized four daring exploits as a threshold for recognition of a war leader and advancement to chieftainship. When a man struck first coup, wrested a gun from an enemy, made off with a prize horse hobbled before a tepee, and led a war party that brought horses or scalps without loss of any of the war party, he was entitled to own a medicine pipe and to recruit and lead war parties (Curtis 1970:

12-13; Lowie 1912: 238-40; Voget 1984: 39-40).

The signing of treaties signaled an imminent decline in the quality of life and the free trade which had sustained Crow enterprise and made them the wealthiest of northern plains tribes. The human, animal, and plant ecology of the plains also was in a stage of rapid decline. The silhouettes of never-ending wagon trains heading west, the intensified intertribal warfare, the company organized trade, and the blankets, clothing, guns and powder distributed annually in payment for treaty concessions diminished the freedom and control which the Crow had enjoyed. Confronted by the overwhelming numbers of their Blackfeet, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Dakota, Assiniboin, and Prairie Gros Ventre enemies, who raided them for horses, intruded into their hunting grounds, and interfered with their trade, Crow leaders during the sixties and seventies allied themselves with the military forces of the United States (Voget 1984: 10-15; Weist 1977: 34-54). The Crow began a semi-reservation life in 1872 at an Agency near present day Livingston, Montana and in 1876 moved to a new Agency at Absarokee. In 1883-1884, following slaughter of the buffalo and sale of lands at the western end of their reservation, the Crow removed to their present reservation at Crow Agency (Bradley Jr., 1972: 33-43). By that time life as they had lived it had come to an abrupt halt, and the Crow became dependent on the government for their survival.

During the early reservation years the Crow resisted and accommodated themselves to the formal demands of Agency regulations, farming incentives, and school and church attendance (Voget 1984: 16-28). At the same time they endeavored to

revitalize the broken continuities of their lives by adapting the competitive status procedures of Crow culture to their present meaningless existence. The acquisition of social and ceremonial rights through adoption-purchase was readily adapted to the status prerequisites of imported dances, such as the Omaha or Grass Dance, as well as their own Tobacco Society, and American honors in school, church, farming, domesticity, and sports.

A traditional spiritual orientation has guided Crow response to life on the reservation. In 1910 Peyote was introduced (Kiste, Ms, Stewart 1987: 184-89), and in 1941, the Shoshoni Sun Dance, which the Crow quickly adapted to victory over the Iron Hats (Germans) and Wolf Men (Japanese) (Voget 1984). The rise of Pentecostal churches since the 1950s again underlines the spiritual foundations of Crow thought and culture, despite Pentecostal antipathy to traditional Crow religion and custom as currently practiced.

Sacred Foundations of Crow Society and Culture

The Crow operated under a sacred charter established at the creation by The Maker of All Things (Akbatatdia), also known as The One Above, The Great One Above, and The Old Man Up There. The Maker had distributed a sacred essence (maxpe) throughout the universe and given some of the heavenly Without Bodies Persons, such as Eagle and Buffalo, stronger powers than others. It was the same for their material counterparts on earth, where Eagle, Sun's messenger, was the strongest bird of the Without Fires People, and Buffalo of the animals (Curtis 1970: 116-17; Lowie 1935: 237-55; Wildschut 1975: 1-4).

The world was an imperfect and dangerous place. Sun had sent his own son, born of an Hidatsa maiden lured to the sky world, to slay the malevolent earth beings intent on destroying earth's inhabitants (Lowie 1935: 134-57). When Old Woman's Grandchild had completed his father's mission, he took up residence in Morning Star. The Great One Above had arranged for Without Bodies Persons to come to the aid of individual Crows and given them the right to loan their sacred powers to those crying out for help. Through a medicine quest high in the mountains, a man acquired powers that allowed him to descend on animal or foe with the deadly strike of Eagle or Hawk, the ferocity and endurance of Grizzly Bear, the strength of a charging Buffalo Person, and the night vision of Owl. A suppliant fasted and offered flesh food in the form of a finger joint or strips of skin as a sign of his sincerity. He prayed that a spirit person would partake of the flesh food and bind himself to adopt him as a "son" and to bestow a gift of sacred power. In visions and dreams a suppliant received instructions with regard to body painting, songs, talismans, and taboos of his medicines. The spirit person usually confirmed his presence by taking the earthly form of an eagle, buffalo, hawk, or bear (Linderman 1962: 73-74; Lowie 1935: 237-51; Nabokov 1970: 23-27, 61-65). Following dream instructions emanating from spirit persons associated with private medicine bundles, Crow individually and collectively hunted game, surprised the enemy, raided for horses, cured illness, directed camp movements, influenced the direction of storms, validated the performance of ceremonies, and made important policy decisions.

The Maker and Star Persons also had given special sacred gifts in order that the Crow should prosper as a people and overcome their many enemies. Chief No Vitals had received the right to Sacred Tobacco in order that the Crow should increase their numbers, wealth, and gain victories over their enemies (Curtis 1970: 61-62; Denig 1985: 188-93; Lowie 1919: 176-89, 1935: 274-96; Medicine Crow 1979: 63-72). Sun gave his medicine lodge (Sun Dance) that mourners could wreak vengeance on the enemy (Curtis 1970: 67-83; Lowie 1935: 297-326; Voget 1984: 77-127). Sun gave the Sacred Sweat with its sacred numbers regulating events so the Crow could control the success of their ventures with the aid of powerful spirit beings. Four was the basic number for a successful completion, and the Sacred Sweat and offering to Sun was divided into four prayer sweats. Four buffalo horn scoops of water were offered first to Sun, seven next to the buffalo Bulls of the Dipper, ten to Morning Star, and a countless number to the myriad Star Persons visible in the night sky (Curtis 1970: 54-56; Lowie 1935: 257; Voget 1944 Ms). Grizzly Bear had instituted the Cooked Meat Singing for their winter protection, for bears commonly faced the mouths of their dens to the north (Bowers 1965: 357). Bear also symbolized earth's winter sleep and spring awakening and in their modification of the original Hidatsa ceremony, the Crow added medicine rocks to increase their numbers and to provide the near invulnerability in war for which Bear was noted. Heaps of rock fragments seemed to recall the multiplication of seeds in tobacco pods, and offerings to medicine rocks were known to show an increase when the bundle was next opened. Medicine rocks shaped

like animals and humans also gave power to control buffalo or elk, and to gain victories over the enemy (Wildschut 1975: 90-98). Medicine rocks were gifts of little people living in the mountains. Seven of these dwarf brothers had left the earth to reside in the seven stars of the Dipper (Curtis 1970: 124).

Morning Star, Old Women's Grandchild, emerged as a powerful medicine figure and controller of the prenatal growth, birth, and increase of animals and humans. Ten, the "months" of gestation was his ritual number, and Morning Star made himself visible during the ten months of the year when the fetus was growing. However, during the two months when buffalocalves were born, Morning Star was nowhere to be seen (Lowie 1935: 156). Morning Star disappeared during the calving season out of fear of reproductive effluent. He had taken flight at the sight of a Buffalo fetus the Two Men had removed from a cow they had slain (Lowie 1935: 149-151). Morning Star's fear revealed that medicines derived from sky helpers had to be protected from menstrual effluent, or the medicine spirits would take flights.

The Child and the Sacred

The acquisition and transmission of sacred power was essential to life, health, wealth, and success, and the child was the central actor in the acquisition and transmission of sacred power. The demigods, Old Woman's Grandchild, and the Two Men (Curtain Boy and Spring Boy) brought to earth the image of orphaned sky children endowed with superhuman powers. Sun made his own child, Old Woman's Grandchild, an orphan when he had his disobedient mother killed with a stone hurled from heaven (Lowie

1935: 134-57). The Two Men were given birth when an earth monster ripped them from their sky-mother's womb and threw one behind a lodge curtain (Curtain Boy) and the other into a spring (Spring Boy) (Lowie 1918: 74-98). In their dual roles of child and adult, they epitomized the miracle of sacred power from child to adult.

The "gods" also introduced the bonding of a medicine father and medicine son through adoption as the appropriate procedure for the transmission of sacred power. In the mythic past, Grizzly Bear had adopted Brave While Young at a feast of spirit persons assembled by Old Woman Who Never Dies (Bower 1965: 349-56). She requested the spirits individually to adopt one of the twenty Hidatsa warriors present and advance their martial spirits and careers. When Brave While Young failed to acknowledge his appreciation for the successes which Grizzly Bear's adoption had brought, he was charged with providing a feast for twenty young warriors and clothing each of them with a buffalo robe and a pair of moccasins. In their Cooked Meat Singing, the Crow recalled this historic medicine adoption and represented Grizzly Bear with an effigy made of pemican (Lowie 1935: 258-63; Wildschut 1975: 98-103).

In ancient times, the Two Men established matrilineal descent among the Hidatsa-Crow and informed them that a father would transmit his medicine to his son (Bowers 1965: 306-07). The Crow formalized this sacred relationship by noting that a person belonged to his mother's clan, but was the "child" of his father's clan. In short, the father and his clanmates adopted the matrilineal "child" and established a medicine father/mother

and medicine son/daughter bond. The father and his maternal relatives assumed the responsibility of providing a healthy atmosphere for growth and success for their "child" by protecting him with their wish and medicine replica and by adoptive purchase on request. The "child and his maternal relatives showed their gratitude by repaying the paternal relations with material goods. This repayment was institutionalized as the giveaway and consisted of four gifts of value, usually tobacco (for smoke prayers), a buffalo robe, a horse, and leather goods (Frey 1987: 40-57; Lowie 1912: 174-248, 1935: 18-32, 33-71; Voget 1984: 31-37, 1987).

During buffalo times, paternal clan fathers and mothers conveyed wish dreams that protected the growing "child" from one season to the next, or to a time when the "child" walked. At birth, clan fathers usually were invited to bestow a protective name, or to change a name if the child remained sickly. In a sweatlodge prayer ceremony, clan fathers honored a "child" as he successively performed skills in hunting, such as bringing down his first deer or buffalo calf. At these medicine sweats, four clan fathers usually were invited to give a dream to their "child". Seasonal life dreams always were welcome, but as the youth moved on to manhood and a warrior's life, clan fathers bestowed medicine dreams that included horses to be taken from the enemy, or a gun wrested from an enemy during a skirmish, or a scalp taken on a vengeance raid.

Through their wish and medicine dreams, clan fathers and mothers were primary providers of the health, growth, longevity, and successes of their matrilineal "children." A "child," thus,

was forever indebted to his clan fathers and mothers and he encouraged them to continue their prayerful oversight by showing his respect and gratitude with periodic gifts of choice meat, hides, robes, and horses. Whatever clan fathers/mothers did to aid a "child"--whether giving counsel, bestowing a name, singing a praise song in recognition of achievement, or praying with a wish dream--repayment was to be made at the time, or in the future. At all times a father's clansmen had to be treated with the utmost respect. They never were to be contradicted in private or in public, nor were they to be made the target of anger; for their dreams and prayers guaranteed the health, wealth, and very life of a "child." Today, when a "child" meets his clan father or mother (clan uncle and aunt in present usage), he gives a friendly greeting and conversation, and hands them a dollar or two for something to eat (Voget, Field Notes).

The Child in Reservation Life and Culture

At the start of their reservation life, the Crow adapted their spiritual orientation and interclan reciprocities to their new situation. The sacred charter linking medicine-rich paternal relatives with a maternal "child" who possessed material wealth stabilized Crow society and culture in the face of challenges and pressures from American culture. The clan uncle/aunt/"child" connection also conveyed a special flexibility which allowed the Crow to incorporate American status objectives while applying their own procedures and values to personal achievement. Seasonal wish dreams, Medicine adoptions, prayer sweats, and praise songs bestowed on a clan "child" and the giveaway

repayment thus sustained the continuity of traditional Crow culture. The Crow found substitutes for the four traditional gifts in store tobacco or cigarettes for the traders' tobacco twist; a colorful Pendleton blanket for a buffalo robe decorated with porcupine quills, blankets and comforters for the buffalo hair blankets, and cash for the horse, the primary measure of wealth during buffalo days. Dress goods and "mufflers" (head scarves) also were added to the formal giveaway goods.

The Crow in their reservation life faced an uncertain future, but they did so with an economically viable and self-sustaining social and cultural system. It would remain so as long as supernatural blessings and material wealth circulated between paternal and maternal in-laws whose interests focused equally on the "child." Unsanitary and crowded home conditions reinforced the bonds of clan uncles and aunts and their "clan children." From the very start of reservation life, a wide variety of life-threatening diseases sent the Crow population into a steep decline which was not reversed until the mid-thirties. Heightened anxieties over the health of children, youths, and adults, in general, undoubtedly increased the demand for blessings and name changes by uncles and aunts. If a sickness persisted, some parents determined that a cure required that they should "throw" the child away. They took the child, usually on his birthday, to a prearranged spot, and a clan uncle and aunt commonly adopted their "clan child." They blessed him, dressed him in new clothes, and gave him a new name; and from that time they were considered to be the real father and mother of the "child." When the parents came to reclaim their

"throwaway child," they brought the four traditional gifts to repay the new "father" and "mother" for their medicine gifts. The introduction of peyote in 1910 (Kiste Ms; Stewart 1987: 184-89), and its spread as a native-based therapy, came at a time when regular hospital care was not available, and medical care for persistent pain and life-threatening ailments was not a priority therapy in Crow thinking. A hospital was the "sick person's lodge," a tent where Crow customarily placed someone near death (Voget, Field Notes).

The blocking of traditional routes to personal achievements and reputation did not dampen the Crow competitive spirit. They quickly applied their adoption-purchase procedure to acquisition of membership and ceremonial rights, especially in the prestigious Tobacco Society (Lowie 1935: 276-77; Voget 1984: 66-74, 1987). Mothers usually took the initiative and "gave" a son or daughter to a clan uncle or aunt; and clan uncles and aunts frequently invited adoption. The Tobacco adoption conveyed four medicines, dances, songs, body paintings, tobacco seeds, and rights to participate in the planting (Lowie 1919: 103-200, 1935: 274-96). Ownership of the adoption lodge also could be acquired as a ceremonial right through adoption-purchase. Medicine adoptions established a life-long relationship between "father" and "child."

Imported social dances, such as the Omaha or Grass Dance, and locally invented dances, such as Woman Chief, also provided rights for adoption-purchase. When a clan aunt spread a blanket for her clan daughter, that could not be refused. A giveaway to pay for the adoption must follow. Clan aunts passed on their

rights to whip laggard dancers or to take their beadwork, if they did not get up and dance. In turn, when a "child" was a winner, as coming in first in a Round Dance, he was expected to give a clan uncle/aunt a banana for winning (Voget, Field Notes).

Prize competitions for the best squash grown or best table setting, introduced by boss farmers and missionaries to stimulate the "civilizing" process, facilitated incorporation of American winners into the clan uncle-"child"-giveaway complex. Sports provided an enduring connection between clan child winners and the blessings and praise songs of clan uncles and aunts. In sports, youths competed physically in the image of warriors and basketball became the primary focus of this image after the Crow produced a regional championship team in 1919. Clan uncles loaned medicines to increase skills at making baskets. District winners were honored collectively as a team in school celebrations, and individually with giveaways. To shoot the winning basket in a district competition was always an occasion for a giveaway. Crow girls have served as cheerleaders. Girl basketball teams have yet to produce a district winner and consequently their players have not been honored as a team, or with individual giveaways. District and clan competition in the arrow throw, district and intertribal competitions in the game of "hiding," and high school football have all developed connections with the clan uncle-"child"-giveaway complex.

Once the Crow began to incorporate American honor competitions, they never stopped. Clan uncles and aunts were favored with mini-giveaways at grade school, high school, and college graduations, to which Head Start has been added.

Peyotists honored graduates with a special peyote meeting sponsored by a father or clan uncle. Crow introduced Soldier Boys' Day in 1918 for veterans and their matrikin to repay clan uncles and aunts for the safe return of their clan children, and to commemorate the victory over the Iron Hats. Introduction of the Shoshone Sun Dance in 1941 allowed clan uncles once again to loan medicines to clan children for their safe return and to gain victory over the Iron Hats, and the Wolf Men as well.

The counsel of clan uncles and aunts was vital to any venture, including public office. The president, vice-president, and treasurer of the Crow Fair were expected to hold giveaways and to send tribal visitors home with gifts that gave them a good feeling. The (tribal) chairmen and other officers of the tribal council held giveaways and parents made use of honorary vice-president appointments to bring a son a special honor and the opportunity to repay uncles and aunts for their prayers with a giveaway distribution. Crow beauty queens of rodeos and of American Indian Days also honored clan uncles and aunts with giveaways.

As Crow added American honors to those of their own culture, public celebrations resonated to praise songs for clan children and to the herald's call for clan uncles and aunts to come forward and receive their gifts from the giveaway pile. With the borrowing of the Hidatsa wake for the dead, clan uncle and clan child reciprocities regulated the life of the individual from cradle to grave. Of late, however, Crow Pentecostal have refused to participate in clan uncle-"child" reciprocities, and this is breaching the spiritual world view which has sustained the

traditional foundations of Crow society and culture in their confrontation with American culture.

Conclusions

Crow society and culture was organized around the acquisition and transmission of sacred power. Following divine instructions, the Crow assigned paternal and maternal relatives the task of promoting the health and welfare of children who, by birth, belonged to the mother's descent line as their "children" and to use their medicine powers to ensure the health, growth, longevity, and public success of these "children." Maternal relatives were to repay the paternal relatives for their medicine gifts with material goods.

The common concern for the adopted "child" by the two family lines provided a viable economic exchange anchored to a range of participant families. This child-centered family base stabilized Crow culture and society in the face of the erosive influences and pressures of American culture and permitted the widespread incorporation of American honors earned through school, sports, church, and war. Presently, Crow society and culture as expressed in the reservation culture is in danger of losing its family base as Crow Pentecostal have opted out of the medicine-giveaway reciprocities.

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**Apsaalooke Ashkisshe:
A Description of the Crow Indian Sun Dance¹**

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The following description of an Apsaalooke Ashkisshe, or Crow Sun Dance, is based on the author's field notes from 1985. The description has been circulated among several Crow families as well as deposited in the archives of Little Big Horn College at Crow Agency. The author acknowledges those Crow individuals who have encouraged his efforts to speak about his experiences of Crow ritual activities in academic and educational forums.² The article opens with a brief description of the "Big Lodge," namely, the lodge in which the Sun Dance ritual takes place. No extended interpretations or descriptions of this ceremonial are made here. However, three points for brief discussion provide helpful context for a reader, namely, historical developments, ritual process, and symbol systems. First, the current ceremony called by the Crow, Ashkisshe or "imitation lodge dance," and in English, Sun Dance, came back to the Crow from the Shoshone people of Wyoming in 1941. That historical transmission is explored in Fred Voget's book, The Crow-Shoshone Sun Dance.³ Historical, diachronic considerations of the Crow Sun Dance since 1941 have not been extensively explored in the academic literature.⁴ However, the Ashkisshe has changed in terms of the motivations of the dancers, the role of the ceremony in Crow religious life, and the structure of the ceremony as determined by Sun Dance chiefs and sponsors over the years. Coupled with

particular aspects of historical change in the Crow Sun Dance is the question of the appropriateness of the English term "Sun Dance." Too many Northern Plains ceremonies of different native peoples are designated by this term.⁵

Second, the description of the "Big Lodge" and a participant's perspective on the dance itself does not give the reader a full sense of the larger ritual process prior to the dance.⁶ For example, there are opening conversations by the sponsor of the dance and the Sun Dance chief who has been selected to lead the Ashkisshe. Before the dance there are also four "Medicine Bundle Openings," four "Outside Dances," and possibly a buffalo hunt for the feast. These activities, which unfold in the time before the actual dance itself, are integral to understanding the significance of the ritual process. This process builds meaning and purpose both in individuals and in the community.⁷

Third, the symbol system of the Crow Ashkisshe is neither static or fixed nor relative or subjective. While the structure of the ritual activities may appear to be fixed, they actually open individual participants to unique religious experiences and spiritual exchanges. These experiences and exchanges are expressed in a metaphoric language of "symbols" and linked into systems of interpretation. However, the individual experiences and group ritual activities are more significant than orthodox interpretations. While interweaving symbol systems might be labeled "traditional," there is no one Crow interpretation of any religious experience, ritual, or spiritual metaphor. Rather, the typical comment from Crow themselves is, "It's up to you!" A

consideration of three dynamic aspects of Crow symbolic life which appear in the Sun Dance is pertinent here.

Three traditional Crow religious themes are: fasting, self-effacement during prayer, and personal exchange with a spiritual helper. It is instructive to mention that some sense of these Crow religious themes were transmitted to the writer by those who prepared him for the dance. The instruction was not undertaken in terms of orthodox beliefs, but rather in terms of orthopraxis, that is, correct actions. Fasting as a religious act among the Crow appears to be precontact.⁸ In the Ashkisshe, the women and men dancers go without food and water for the duration of the dance which is set in terms of nights. This bodily deprivation is believed to put the dancer in a spiritual state most appropriate for prayer. If a dancer is sincere and determined "something" can happen. This "sincerity" and "determination" (diakaashe) are not simply interior states. For example, Thomas Yellowtail, the senior Sun Dance chief until his death in 1993, spoke of learning the Crow language and entering into Crow spiritual songs as part of this sincerity.⁹ In that cultivated state of sincerity, then, the dancer is humbled as if she or he were "orphaned."¹⁰ To be "orphaned" is to be aware of one's limits, to hope beyond one's pathetic state without leaping in an act of faith to a transcendent heaven, and to be open to the possibility of spiritual blessings by a "Grandfather" or spiritual power (Iilapxe) which is imminent in the physical world. This personal exchange with a spiritual helper is not simply a subjective and individualistic salvation experience. Rather, the experience is more correctly understood as communal

and cosmic. "Communal" refers to the positive effect of personal prayer for the whole Crow community as well as the community of beings in the bioregion. "Cosmic" refers to the holistic ethic that underlies the Ashkisshe, namely, what one is doing arises from out of the larger cosmos and its effects reach into the cosmos as the Crow worldview sees that unity.¹¹

A final introductory comment is appropriate. Just as a diachronic, historical perspective deepens a reading of the description below, so also should the reader be aware of the personal, synchronic setting of these remarks. The description arises from out of one individual's reflections and experiences at a ceremony. Just as the Sun Dance itself changes in subtle and in structural ways each time it is performed, so also do the reflections of a participant change. Perhaps this spiritual maturation is built into the expectation that any dancer will not simply participate only once but commits him or herself to at least four dances. These remarks, then, are the edited field notes of a non-Crow participant in the Ashkisshe whose understanding is limited because he does not speak Crow and, at the point described in the article, did not understand the clan lineage system with its obligations, privileges, and responsibilities which also reach into such a religious setting as the Ashkisshe. Limited as this description is, it is hoped that it will communicate some understanding of this ritual, as well as the significance of this ceremony in the larger dialogue of religious traditions.

The Big Lodge

Building the Sun Dance Lodge is communal work. Women help feed the men. But most of all, lodge construction requires muscle power to dig the holes for the central pole and for the twelve forked trees that surround it. Then long, thin lodgepole pines, which span from the dozen periphery forked trees to the central pole, have to be raised and lashed in place. Some years earlier--the first time I helped build a Big Lodge--I gashed my hands. Now, I tuck a pair of gloves in my backpack for protection from the tough bark of Ponderosa and Lodgepole pines. These trees form the Big Lodge, namely, the outer ring of twelve forked trees with long rafter poles spanning inward to the center-pole.

Gangs of men hoist the long pine rafters which bridge from the outer twelve notched trees to the central cottonwood. If the head Sun Dance chief allows, a mechanical hoist can be used to help raise these long unwieldy rafter trees but usually this is all done by hand. By late afternoon, most of the helpers had gradually disappeared. The dancers have gone to wash, drink water and have venison soup in preparation for their three or four day fast. As the sun's shadows swept across the lodge, the last builders lounged in the trampled timothy-grass moving with the shade to avoid the blistering heat. Trucks filled with young cottonwood, willow, or pine trees arrived to be arranged as shade trees around the outer perimeter of the Big Lodge. At the east was the entrance gate which was open as a viewing area. The drummers and singers would be stationed inside this eastern entrance. The announcers would stand well into the entrance and

a fire would mark the space beyond which only the dancers and those who entered the lodge for a healing ritual could pass.

By sunset, as the last rays of twilight were dimming in the west, lines of dancers were forming behind the lodge. The skirted dancers stood like silhouette figures trailing from the pine boughs of the lodge. They seemed to sway in the breezes and pass in and out of the sun's setting rays. Eagle plumes on the end of whistles lifted abruptly into the azure twilight. The shadowy outlines of the dancers moved in another dimension. Mosquitoes landed on my bare shoulders, back, arms and chest but flew away bloodless into the chill mountain air.

Each line had men and women, so I went to the end of the men's row just behind Pierre, the Frenchman, and another white man who danced. Duwayne, my Crow brother, moved into the next line with some of his friends. I knew that he would be across the lodge when we went in to our places. Directly Behind me was Tylor, a young but experienced dancer with a medicine necklace. Later, several young men took places to my left--Gary, a Commanche, and Reuben, an Inuit.

Entering the Lodge

I have no anxiety now. I am pleased to have arrived before the entry and to be able to look at the dancers. The women are lovely in calico dresses with beadwork decorations. Their eagle plumes, like steam from their breath on a cold evening, arises from the many mouths closed on their whistles. The dance skirts of the men vie with one another for unusual design and color. Even solid colors pulsate with unusual vibrancy. Medicine

necklaces are arranged around necks, hanging from a dancer's hair and dangling from wrists.

Suddenly drum beats punctuate the air and the singers shrill voices urge the dancers into motion. Blowing our eagle bone whistles, the lines move in different directions around the lodge. I am in the line headed by the Sun Dance chief, John Pretty-on-Top, and the co-sponsor, Billy Back Bone. The other line is headed by the older shaman, Thomas Yellowtail, and the other co-sponsor, Sam Takes-a-Horse. Whistling and circling the lodge we pass by our families to our left, the shade trees leaning against the Big Lodge to our right. I do not see anyone I know. Friends might have been there, but I am as a stranger circling a place of identity. The faces that I see are like bits of a puzzle that converge into the larger image. They are outside and I know I am going inside. Laughter mingles with stolid faces and apprehensive eyes. Cool air moves past my shoulder from the swing of an old man's hairbraid as he turns his head. We turn at the eastern gate and enter the lodge.

The Setting in the Lodge

Leaders of the two lines meet inside the lodge at the western side under the rafter named for the sponsors and beside the forked upright pole named for the Sun Dance chief. I am located at the northwestern side of the lodge and I know already that it will be bright-hot here during the daytime.

As I look at the center-pole, I immediately see the glassy eye of the buffalo head which is tied on the tree slightly higher than the dancers. Sacred clay encircles the eye so that its gaze

is striking and constant. Below the buffalo are the three charcoal rings indicating the three full days of the fast from food and water. Two bunches of willows, reversed one to the other so that the shiny leaves jut out from both sides of the bundle, are tied above the buffalo head. Above this, perched in the rafters, is an eagle's body with outspread wings. Two flags are tied on the two forks of the tree, blue for the south, for the night, and the faithful cloudless sky, and white for daylight, for the snow and for water and earth. Above them are two small bags of Bull Durham tobacco offerings. On the ground, patches of timothy grass have sprung back in the circular lodge between the thirty feet of dancers to the center tree.

Now, the announcers speak and John Pretty-on-Top, the officiating Sun Dance chief, responds. We dancers stand in place. Attentive to our thoughts, those of us who cannot understand Crow make our own mental announcements. Statements of purpose wheel and circle through the lodge in silent unseen currents. Looking straight ahead, the young Commanche beside me sets a determined tone. Beyond him the Inuit youth (or Eskimo as he said later) smiles as we exchange encouraging nods. Farther along the row is a visiting Lakota Sun Dancer with the scars of previous piercings on his chest and back. The women dancers radiate out on both north and south sides of the lodge from the entrance. Suddenly, everyone sits down on the ground at their place.

Passing the Dancer's Gear into the Lodge

Outside, families in the audience, arms laden with bedrolls

and suitcases, begin to push forward towards the entrance. The announcers call out names and dancers go to the door to pick up their gear. It's a lively exchange, though little is said. Family members beam with pride, dancers are properly brusque yet eager to receive the bedrolls in this self-effacing atmosphere. I hear my name and, using my hands, push up from my tucked legs position to gain my feet. The skirt limits my stride across the lodge and I look down awkwardly, though the many faces at the entrance draw me towards them. Looking for Magdeleine, I suddenly see George Redwolf with my gear. His little brother in his other arm and my case at his feet. Bringing my gear back to my space, I unroll the bedroll and put my case up by my head. Following the lead of the other dancers, I sit on my bedroll waiting.

As the drums start the dancers get up, roll back their bedrolls, and stand waiting. The singers begin their chant and we take up our whistles, but no one blows until the lead chanter begins a high-pitched singing suggestive of ecstasy. Then blowing on our whistles in pulsating unison the dancers stand in place as the sponsors and shamans dance first to the pole and pray for the success of the dance. We have gathered at the sponsors' request to give thanks for the mothers of the two sponsors who are both alive and well. Suddenly, two of the assistants standing near the Sun Dance chief break for the pole and all the dancers follow their lead. We are dancing in rhythm with the singer's chants and our rush for the pole occurs when the lead singer begins a high note tremolo.

We came into the lodge at eight forty-five and now we have

danced until twelve-thirty. It is glorious in the cool air. Everyone is hale and energetic. Not until eleven-thirty or so do some of the dancers begin to lie down and sleep, saving themselves for the three-day ordeal ahead. Some of us cannot stop and the singers are still willing to go on. Slowly I see a path emerge through the timothy grass where I am running to the pole and then dancing step by step backwards to my place. The ritual dance remains fairly constant all through the Sun Dance. The dancers run or lope to the center tree surging like a wave of determination towards the centerpoint of expectation. The dancers often hesitate momentarily near the tree as if hoping to carry back with them the presence of sacred power. Then, lightly stepping backwards they begin their rhythmic return to their place. All during the dance we blow on the eagle-bone whistles in a staccato beat and, holding the eagle plumes between thumb and forefinger, wave them gently at the level of our hips.

With deep night we stop dancing and I pull my Pendleton blanket over my shoulders to go out of the lodge. Walking back from the men's outhouse I hesitate and gaze into the Milky Way. Caught in that immense starry dance I let my blanket slip over one shoulder. With the cool starry breeze settling on my bare shoulder, I center on the stillness of this moment in the movement of the heavens. I wonder at the starlight darkness as a tired joy flows through my body.

The Dance through the First Day

Saturday begins the first full day. I hear the announcers walking among the distant campers calling in both Crow and

English. "Hurry! Wake up! The sun will rise in fifteen minutes." All around me dancers are up and in various states of preparation. After a trip outside, I change my skirt from the white one with stripes of red and blue and white fringe to one of solid sky blue with fringe of black. Pulling my Pendleton blanket over my shoulders, I put my eagle wing-bone whistle with its eagle plume at the tip around my neck and fix the eagle plumes on their strings to my little fingers. Joining the men and women in front of the pole we all face east behind the sponsors and shamans at the fireplace. The dancers begin to whistle as Tom Yellowtail and John Pretty-on-Top directs them. Thomas Yellowtail had joined us inside the lodge for the sunrise ceremony. We whistle as the sun rises above the Wolf Mountains. I have seen no sunrise so closely, so personally. Interestingly, I feel that the whole group is helping to create this rapture, but each dancer experiences it in his or her own way. Before the orb clears the mountains the sun's effulgent red rays inspire ecstatic whistle-calls from several dancers. A meandering cloud waits above the mountains for the fiery orb but not before its full circumference is visible above the horizon. As we whistle our pulsating call to the sun, we look into its rising brightness. How magnificent the fullness of the sphere, how appropriate to look for strength and direction in this burst of energy.

With the sun up, our whistling stops and the women go back to their places. The men draw closer together sitting between the fire and the centerpole, all facing east. Thomas Yellowtail begins the same chant used to hoist the center tree as it was set

in place when the lodge was built. Each verse ends with unison eagle-bone whistling.

One of the sponsors, Sam Takes-a-Horse, stands up with the cedar bag in one hand. Addressing the sun he prays in Crow and drops cedar in the fire. His prayer is lengthy. Gradually Sam's earnestness affects even those of us who cannot understand his words and dancers begin to make chesty sounds of affirmation, "Ho!" After Sam's prayer, John Pretty-on-Top puts cedar in the fire for the dancers to incense their feet, their blankets, and themselves.

We saw the sun come up around five-thirty and it's now about seven-thirty. We have no formal events until dancing resumes just before or after noon. Most of the dancers lie down for a rest. Some gather in the lodge front to discuss special features of this dance. Others shed their skirts and blankets sitting in shorts and swim suits to stay cool. The temperature is already rising so that many dancers set aside their blankets and use a sheet to cover themselves when they leave the lodge. We are always covered when we leave the lodge and only when we first entered were the men bare chested while both men and women carried their blankets over their arms. It is as if the sacred space of the lodge is connected with the dancers and their ritual dress must be covered if they go out into the ordinary space beyond the lodge.

Walking in from outside the lodge, I shed my blanket and squat down to check my feet. They feel sensitive from dancing so I decide to include that thought in the afternoon's dance, namely, to pray that my feet hold up. Many Crow elders have

advised me to pray for help when the need arises. They also encouraged me to continue dancing despite any tiredness. I sense that one's prayers for others become intimately involved in one's own needs. The prayers that I had danced the first night now seem too mechanical. My personal prayers involve the sponsor's requests, renewal of human-earth relations, our families, and our teaching--these thoughts come to me as I am dancing. I see these concerns taking their own shape. They are shaping the way I am thinking about the dance. In a sense, they will dance me as much as I dance them. These thoughts enfold me as I fall asleep.

When I wake up later that morning I sense something is amiss. Preparations are being made for the afternoon dance so I attribute my anxiety to waking up in an unfamiliar place. Later I learn that my intuition is not unfounded for a woman dancer had to leave the lodge. Her time of month for menstruation had unexpectedly arrived and she voluntarily left the lodge as expected. In the Crow lifeway, woman's power for nurturing and giving birth is understood as different from that of the Sun Dance. So different that they can work at cross purposes and adversely affect the dancers making them ill and unable to dance. Thus, she left the lodge quietly before the dancing started again.

The singers begin with the typical prelude of drumming and, then, launch into a Sun Dance song. Poised on the appropriate entry the dancers first whistle with the singers. Then the dancers leap from their spaces for the first charge at the pole. Shoulders bump as the eighty-six dancers crowd into the smaller area immediately surrounding the center tree. Gradually, the

dancers vary the times in which they go to the tree so that everyone has a dance sequence when they can go unimpeded to the center. Still, some dancers seem to go out with every song and dancing backwards with intricate hand motions or pointedly difficult dance steps. It is as if they fulfill a vow, they dance so determinedly.

My path to the pole is now clear of standing grass, but the trampled green underfoot helps to soften the earth and my feet seem less painful. Dancing to the pole, I reflect on my gaze towards the buffalo. Initially appearing stern and sober the visage of the buffalo softens as I dance near the tree. Gender also changes as he becomes she, provider of nourishment and sustenance. I feel the nurturing embrace providing me with energy even now as I dance. There, in the branches, an eagle-like insight waits for me. It seems to say, "Go up!" I begin to gaze up the tree as I dance backwards to my place. Suddenly, I'm treading the toes of the dance partner next to me. I nod by way of apology but he pays no attention. The dancer is focused on his dance to the pole. Towards the pole, then, jogging backwards with lyrical steps he waves the eagle plumes in his hands in rhythmic coordination. Again, I go to the pole. Touching the cottonwood bark with my plumes I run them down the sides of my cheeks as I bounce backwards. Surprised, I look at the buffalo, at the eagle, then up the tree towards the blue sky. Blinding light from the sun causes me to close my eyes and look down. Whump! I dance full into the dancer to my right who had remained at his place.

Limping, I step back to my place and stay put for the next

sequence. I am beginning to sense the limping quality of all the dancers. I am not the only one going off to right or left on the backward return to one's place. Others wander slightly, others limp with sore feet, others wait for every third sequence before going out, others already lie under the sheets rigged up to shade the sun. Just as it is a sun dance, I think it is a limping dance. We are frail creatures out here in the sun. We are limping our lives on the earth. When our feet are on the earth that is the real prayer.

Going to the pole I gazed at buffalo-provider, eagle-insight, and up to the flagged branches that lead to the blue sky full of the sun's brilliance. My hands, and the plumes I hold in my fingers, sway in the rhythm of the dance as I leave behind conscious purpose. The beat of my feet on the earth informs me, guides me. I raise my plumes to the provider who sustains us, to the one who gives us insight. Turning my plumes inward and running them down my cheeks to my heart I raise them back up following the thrust of the tree's trunk. The one trunk for all creation, up to the two branches, the manyness of particular things. I linger with my thoughts, with my concerns for earth, family, and profession until I reach the top leaves of the branches and abruptly flick my plumes up. Looking down at the ground and dropping my hands waist high, I begin a circular beat with the plumes coordinated to my backwards dancing feet. I feel as if I am gathering-in with all the dancers. Here we are, a "mob" of dancers, a variety of life just as can be found in any place on the planet. Like a bioregion we dance, and dancing together we grow and nourish one another even as we do our

limping dance.

We stop dancing in the late afternoon and two shoeless non-dancers suddenly enter the lodge carrying a shovelful of charcoal from the night's fire and a bag of cedar. Going around the interior of the lodge they stop by each of the dancers and allow them to fan the incense over themselves and their ritual objects. I recognize one of the helpers as Adrian Birdinground and am glad to see him in the lodge. The dancing continues until four or so in the afternoon after which I put my sheet over my shoulders for a walk to stretch my legs in front of the lodge. Since most of the campers are back at sites preparing dinner, it is a relaxing time for the dancers to talk with one another outside the lodge. We sit on the firewood stacked nearby. A few wives or children chat with their husbands or fathers. Some families massage a daughter's back or a mother's feet. No one leaves the immediate area, but standing outside the lodge imparts a liberating feeling from the increasingly serious and heavy weight inside the lodge.

I join a small group of dancers who are discussing the cedar incensing. "It will be a hard dance now," says one. "Some are already sick," says another. Waiting for an explanation, I venture no question. "Of course she didn't know that it was her time of month but it will go hard on all of us. We have to bear up under the blood that she brought here and also her leaving." "Yes," a young man says, "the toughest thing is that she really wanted to dance. She came from a distance with the group and they really worked hard to get here. Too bad she just didn't know." I knew that menstruating women are not allowed in the

lodge. Families take care that girls or women in their time of month generally don't come near the lodge. But often visiting dancers are ignorant of these traditional rules; yet the elders, sponsors, and shamans let outsiders dance. It's the only way to learn. The cedar incense, then, is to purify the lodge and dancers after her leaving. We also talk about the number of dancers now that we are one less. A few figures are put forward with the most reliable counters putting it at eighty-five people. Sitting back grasping our knees, we enjoy the first cool breezes which make us more comfortable.

This night's dance is similar to that on Friday night except that fewer dancers are participating. At any given chant-sequence twenty or thirty dancers stand up. Between dance sequences the dancers stretch out and often receive visitors. Adam Birdinground's brother, Sam, comes to talk with me through the shade trees. It seems a pleasant diversion. We talk of the Crazy Horse monument in South Dakota, especially the proposed American Indian university. I ask him about Dekanawida-Quetzalcoatl University in Davis, California, but neither of us knows much about it. Just as Sam prepares to go he says that he will call me to the door tomorrow to receive a "medicine cigarette" which I can use when I am especially exhausted and unable to continue dancing. The prospect of being called to the door to receive a consideration from Sam excites me as much as the "medicine cigarette" about which I have no knowledge. However, since I feel strong now I cannot imagine needing such assistance.

By eleven o'clock, as I look around, many more dancers seem

to be stretched out sleeping wearily, rubbing their feet, or nursing a nagging stomach or leg cramp. The announcers occasionally shout in Crow from the entrance to the dancers encouraging them to get up and dance, but it only draws up a few more dancers. To my left the white guys, Pierre and Daniel, and the young Indians to my right seem strong, especially the Inuit fellow, Reubin, who dances vigorously most of the night. Later he has leg cramps and we talk about our reasons for dancing as I massage his legs.

This night also begins the laughter and jokes in small groups after the dancing has stopped. They talk about cool and refreshing drinks that various dancers plan to have immediately after finishing the dance. Images of lemonade, orange juice, and soda pop compete with watermelon, peaches and cool, mountain water. There is even a passing conversation about the quality of several local, national, and international beers. Finally, weariness prevails over the most hearty and the lodge is quiet except for the work of the firetender, Bill Gros Ventre, and the young men who are not dancing but who help him tend the fire through the night.

I am awake before the announcer's call, eager after a restful sleep to take on this toughest of days, the public day of dancing. Going out of the lodge, I stretch my limbs and breathe deeply of the sweet mountain air. Folding up the blue skirt, I put on the one made from African material. It's green background contrasts sharply both with the pale yellow design and with the white fringe border. Completing my ritual dress I join the other dancers for the Sunrise Ceremony. This morning the sun rises

utterly resplendent with no hint of clouds. The magnificent challenge of its heat suddenly wells up in me as I whistle with the rising red orb of sun. Billy Back Bone offers prayer for all of us after which we incense ourselves both inside at the main fire and outside the lodge at small placements of charcoal where cedar has been laid. I lie down to make a few notes about the previous day's dancing until I slide into sleep.

The Public Day

I awake to the shout of my name. My Crow sister, Magdeleine Medicine Horse, is calling me to come and get painted. As I get up I am amazed to find that individual stalls have been put up at every dancer's place. I am aware that this would be done, but am so surprised that I did not hear the sound of the workmen as I slept. The stalls are made of young trees, willow or cottonwood, planted in the ground about a foot deep. Willow branches are bunched and tied between each pole to give stability to each stall. The willow leaves give off a fragrance of water. They have been cut just that morning.

Twisting my skirt around me and pinning the ends together, I adjust the pattern of the cloth so that its intricate design shows. Fixing my necklace, but leaving my eagle whistle and plumes, I take my sheet and go out the entrance to where John Pretty-on-Top is painting a dancer's face. I had asked John early on during Friday's lodge construction if he would paint me. He had said yes and indicated that some fourteen or fifteen people had also asked him. He thought the number of requests was because this is the first Sun Dance that he has conducted

himself. Two women are ahead of me, one is Violet's sister, Jewel, from California, so I watch as John draws a red line from ear to ear under the nose. Filling in the upper face with red clay from the Northern Cheyenne reservation, John then rubs red into the hair. Taking a small stick he then makes four vertical silver-white lines like flashes of light on the red field of the cheeks. Daubing white into the hair he exchanges jokes with the women about their gray hairs. Incensing them he rises and turns the painted dancers east. He stands behind them and places his left hand on their shoulders and with his right hand on their heads prays for them.

It is a moving scene to witness and, even more so, to be the one painted. When John paints me he extends the red down over my shoulders. As he does so, he says that Indians painted themselves for protection from sunburn in addition to ritual reasons. "When the sheriff over in Reno danced he got a pretty bad burn. You white men burn pretty easy, I think." John's prayer, for me is in Crow. I heard him pray in English two years back with an arresting plea to Father Sun for mercy so that the dancer might endure the arduous ceremony. Remembering that former prayer I join with him as he prays over me. Leaving the gifts of blanket, material yardage, and cigarettes I go over to where Adam and Violet are parked. Duwayne is waiting for his clan uncle, Bill Russell, to paint him. Violet suddenly extends a hand with a magnificent power blue belt. "Here, wear this today," she says. "Hey! You're making me a fancy dancer!" I quipped. How proud I feel to wear a belt that Violet has beaded.

The public dance begins about eleven o'clock before the

intense heat of mid-day. A Crow war veteran from Vietnam raises the American flag over the lodge on a special pole placed by the entrance. The Crow anthem is sung and the Sun Dance chief gives some brief remarks in Crow about the veteran. As the singers begin their Sun Dance songs, the dancers in all their finery begin to charge the pole. Medicines in the form of beaded animal skins or feathers are braided into some dancers' hair, other medicines are tied to necklaces and fall over chests bounding with animation as their wearers dance. This is the day that the audience enjoys most. The colors of costumes are exquisite, the singers voices and drum beats fill the lodge, the dancers are filled with enthusiasm, and the sacrifice of each dancer moves towards its inexorable toll.

We begin with almost full participation. After a half hour some dancers are unable to get up because of exhaustion or cramps. Two dancers I miss especially, one who had danced vigorously the first two nights is now laid low with leg cramps and stomach pains. Two women have already been "hit by the buffalo" which means to have fallen into a trance state induced by the steady dancing and by the food and water deprivation. It is an honored visionary state during which it is believed that spirits communicate to individuals in personal and private ways. One woman was told by a voice to "Try and catch me. I will give you a drink." Now moving in exhausted torpor she comes to the pole and begins to suck at the bark. After tearful prayers, she withdraws appearing utterly relieved and refreshed. Moisture runs down the cottonwood bark from the place where she drew sustenance. Finally, the singers begin that special rhythmic

beat indicating the end of a sequence. The whistlers blow ecstatically either staccato beats or a long breath-emptying trill. One dance sequence lasting over an hour is ended. Before the next sequence begins there is a break during which the dancers may receive gifts that give them some comfort.

Family and friends come to the door of the lodge and announcers call to the dancers to come and see what they have for them. In truth, it is a happy sound to be called for "cattails," the grass that grows in swamps with the brown punk-like flowering. It's inner layers are filled with moisture and by peeling them and applying them to the skin one gains a respite from the burning heat and dryness. These cattails are spread over those who fall into a trance while dancing. Other than this covering no one disturbs a dancer who falls or is "hit by the buffalo." Those who receive cattails, sage, or mint share them with their neighbors.

These provide temporary relief but nothing really relieves the deep burning I feel. I am sure that a cigarette can be lit just by touching it to my skin. Thinking this, I know that I will go to the pole the next dance sequence to take a cigarette and pray. It is customary for dancers to approach the tree and make a prayer smoke with a cigarette. At times, many dancers may cluster around the tree praying. Sometimes there is only an individual dancer holding onto the tree and seeking solace. Earlier in this public day three members of the audience had received permission to enter and pass out cigarettes to all the dancers asking them to pray for special requests. I feel relief thinking that I will pray for part of the next sequence rather

than dance.

With the beginning of the next dance sequence I go out to the pole with a lit cigarette. Just walking out provides relief and I realize that the advice of the elders to keep on dancing is wise indeed. Fixing on each of the presences that I feel at the pole I reiterate each of my six requests adding an additional request that I be allowed to endure through this public day. As I dance back to my place I sense the directedness of my praying in the ease with which I am able to find my place without stumbling into another dancer. Very slowly I have acquired ease of direction in my dance. I do not have to look over my shoulder to see where I am going; rather, I concentrate ahead to those presences at the centerpole who guide me and I feel directed in my path. This dance sequence successfully diverts me from preoccupation with my body discomfort. But when the dance stops and I return to my bedroll, I am completely unable to lay on it and rest. The touch of cloth is unbearable so I roll the bed into the shade trees and curl on my side on the ground. Like a cry the thought wraps around me, "You belong here!" This thought sustains me for several terrible minutes. I think, "Everyone has the right to the ground they lay on." Tranquillity from the earth's coolness reaches into my hot body and soothes me.

"John!" Hearing my name, I lift my head. Several dancers near me call out, echoing the announcers mention of my name. Their shouts are hoarse and, like my own voice which I have not heard since the face-painting, weak. They call for me not out of urgency but from a desire that I too go to that door and feel the relief which families can bring us. At the entrance Sam

Birdinground stands with a pack of cigarettes and a handrolled cigarette. Taking my hand he put the cigarette into my hands saying, "Smoke this when you can't go on. Smoke in the ritual manner to the four directions that we have talked about." "Aho! Thanks" I manage to whisper. "How I want cattails, mint and sage," I am thinking, "but now I have this so I had better use it because I don't think I can get much worse." Shivering with fatigue and anticipation, I search among my gear for the matches I have been using for prayer-smokes. Finding them I cradled them and the medicine cigarette in my palm waiting for the next sequence.

With the rise of the drums I step out to the center tree. Briefly trying to recall if dancers going to the tree are supposed to wait for a signal beat or voice inflections, I quickly set the thought aside muttering to myself, "I am going out now!" Striding to the tree I inhale deeply into my lungs the smoke of the herbal cigarette which I had lit at my place. Standing beneath the buffalo and the eagle presence and the cosmic reach of the pole I slowly turn to the east and exhale the smoke. Thinking that here is the direction of light and illumination I raise my head and blood rushes to my brain like brilliant fireworks. "My goodness!" I think, and reel from the effects of the herbs. Managing to turn south I take another breathful of smoke and, speaking through my exaltation, address the source of life with prayers. I can feel the cool touch of the smoke as it rises from my mouth. Then west I circle thinking, "This is not marijuana but I am transported." Giving over I take another breath and pray to my ancestors and the

mystery in creation. Finally, at the north I have all I can do to even take another breath of that potent smoke. I lean against the tree and address the northern powers of critical fire, of cold insight into oneself. Bending down onto the tree I am conscious of dancers about me. Innumerable dancers have come to lift me up. Many more than had been dancing just at the last sequence are now about me dancing backwards. It seems to me that they are whistling for me to endure. Holding the medicine cigarette I smoke once, twice, three times and more until it is a small stub. "It is not right to put this down without prayers for Sam and his family!" Facing the tree with tears streaming down my face I feel my prayers for earth, family, work and endurance emerge from the depths of my debilitated state. Dropping my arms I touch the strings of my eagle plumes and slowly draw them up into my fingers and dance back to my place.

Squatting on the ground I fix my gaze on the buffalo and pray for centering. I am now fearful that this medicine state will last for some time and its energy demands completely exhaust me. While I try to give myself over to its exuberance I am sobered by my palpitating heart and hyperventilating breath. Lowering my head I reflect on techniques of breath and heart control. Fixing images of the centering tree and its presences with my imagination I set them in my heart. A calm fills me as my body heat begins to reassert itself. My mental transport recedes and I look up to see the dancers' fringes swing in unison above the grass. Gathering cattails around me I lean against my bedroll. No thoughts distract me as I wait for the next dance.

Going to the Centering Tree

Through the late afternoon I alternately dance and rest. With the sun's passage beyond the western shade trees our side of the lodge is now in full shadow and much cooler. Scores of people come in for healing and at one point I go to the tree to feel the shaman's healing fan. I stand by the blue otter pole which holds the medicine which Grandfather Yellowtail has passed to John Pretty-on-Top. The shaman, John Cummins, motions for me to come over under the buffalo. Facing me towards the cottonwood tree he places his left hand on my shoulder and draws his eagle wing fan down sections of my back. Tingling sensations linger after the tickling passage of feathers. Suddenly the medicine man hits me full in the middle of my back with the fan. The force of the blow knocks me toward the tree and I reach out to steady myself but John's grip on my arm steadies me. Drawing his fan down the buffalo's face and bearded chin he brings it to my head and down my body. Whap! The eagle fan strikes my upper back. Flicking the fan away from me he moves down both sides of my body. He then motions me back to my place. During all of these healing sessions the dancers are encouraged to continue dancing. We are told that the shamans need our dancing to be able to transmit medicine powers to those who need them. Indeed, after each of this afternoon's marathon sessions I realize that the three medicine men look thoroughly exhausted.

I stand grasping the poles at my stall during the last dances. I run out into the heat and dance back into the cool of the willow branches of the stall just above my head. I had

eagerly anticipated the late afternoon break in the dancing, but now that it has nearly arrived I am beyond anticipation. I know that I have endured the most demanding ordeal of the Sun Dance public day. Unrolling my bed and taking down the sheet I had put up for shade, I lay down like the other dancers for whatever sleep might come our way.

After a sleepless period I was suddenly in dream time journeying back to my home in New York. I came to our house in New Rochelle and going into the front entrance turned to look in the living room. There, my wife, Mary Evelyn, sat still as if absorbed in deep meditation. Tears streamed down her eyes. The enthralling scene and the sharp delineation of the dream image jolted me and I immediately woke up. A warm feeling of security suffused me as if my wife's tears washed away my discomfort. Days later I would talk with my uncle, the shaman, John Cummins, about this dream and the comforting feeling that it gave me. After listening to my interpretation he said that he disagreed. "Your dream journey was a sign that you were distracted from your real work at the center pole. Seeing your wife broke your concentration on that work you had at the center pole. Next time your wife should be here while you dance so that you can meet the sacred tree with all of your thoughts."

This night's dancing seems to lack some of its vital parts. While the singers are animated and two more groups arrive to participate in the singing, the dancers themselves are mostly exhausted. No more than ten or fifteen dancers are up for charging the pole and usually only three or four dancers respond to a typical dance sequence. One encouraging sign is that a

dancer who had been ill is now up. He dances once and then goes to sit by the drum. His smile and laughter lift many of us and we are able to dance a few more rounds. Taking a break outside I talk with him. He immediately thanks me for dancing, "That group over by you looks real good. You've all danced hard." I thank him for getting up and going to the drummers. "Yah!," he says as his eyes moisten, "that's my father and brother. They've driven over a hundred and fifty miles to be here tonight just to sing. When they leave they still have a long drive home tonight." I take his arm in my hand as he does mine and we feel the joy of two who are here dancing for others.

I sleep fitfully this night. At one point Pierre and I talk about religion and what it means to dance. For several hours we talk about our lives and the directions that we have gone. He mentions how he first met Crow people while hitchhiking. "Around the world I was going. Then, voila!, a short ride, a little talk and I meet Grandfather Yellowtail. Who knows what happens here, but I think a lot about what I experience at the Sun Dance. This lodge is a holy place. Back home I work with the earth--landscaping--and this dance lifts that work into a special meaning for me." How wonderful it is to have this time tonight to talk with a fellow dancer about our experiences.

The Day Water Comes Into the Lodge

If I had not been asleep when the announcer called me out to the campers, I probably would have said I did not sleep at all last night. I threw back the covers thinking that this would be over too soon. Rumors of a twelve noon water-song announcing the

arrival of water and the end of the dance had circulated all last night. Now the speculation was confirmed. Both the sponsors and the shamans could see that they and the dancers were terribly debilitated. Some dancers were ill and the medicine people had treated them at every break. So it was determined that the four women chosen to bring water from the mountain would arrive around noon. The sunrise ceremony is splendid. John Pretty-on-Top's prayerful tone is a balm to me even though I cannot understand his words. Through all the whistling, incensing, and chanting I am conscious of the impending conclusion of the Sun Dance. After the sunrise ceremony when we are milling around the front of the lodge, Pierre's wife reminds him that he had wanted to dance for his work crew. "Oh yes! he says, "they are hard working people but caught in their limited perspectives. Material things are most important for them. I will dance for them today."

The final dance sequences are animated and everyone is participating as much as they can. Despite the anticipated end of dancing I find myself very weak and at times unable to sustain my energies through a complete dance sequence. I kept thinking, "This next one, I make it for sure." My dread was that I would start a dance and not finish it. Some days back when I went out for a break, Bill Gros Ventre and Pius Real Bird said that I looked "real good!" What will they say if I begin a dance and, then quit. I thought, "Maybe I'll rest for a few sequences."

John Pretty-on-Top is standing up and calling for the announcers and the fireman to come into the lodge. He wants all the dancers who can to stand up and whistle in their place while he and the other shamans perform a special healing as thanks for

all their work. Grasping my stall poles I rise and stand in place. I thought, "Of course I will whistle! Isn't this eagle-bone whistle from Bill Gros Ventre who is just now coming into the lodge by the tree?" As I blow my whistle with the other dancers I hear the two tones of my bone-whistle. It is an extraordinary sound. Someone outside in the family groups told me early on that eagles came over the lodge on the first day. I did not see them, but he said that it was typical because they were attracted by the whistling. As the shamans start their healing ceremony with the first of four announcers I exert myself and blow with extra gusto so that my whistle is raised into its upper register of sound. Elated to hear that piercing call I know that Bill himself must be aware that I am up and blowing for him and his family.

Again and again the dancers staccato rhythm pierces the air towards the center of the lodge. Determined to maintain my exertion I begin to sense a failure of breath. The shamans begin the third healing and I am whistling with the last breath that seems to be left in the innermost recesses of my lungs. Then, John Pretty-on-Top fans Bill Gros Ventre and I am able to sustain what I had wanted to do. Finished, exhausted, I sag at my stall poles with my head hanging from my neck.

Incredibly, three people take off their shoes and approach the tree for healing. I am stunned and drop my gaze thinking that I will have to take my seat and abandon my self-willed rule of participation through all of a sequence. Bowed with fatigue and looking down, I see a black cricket climbing through the grass toward my right foot. Fascinated and diverted, I follow

its movement up and over the crushed stems of grass. It's black, resilient body maneuvered by its angled legs unexpectedly swings onto my foot just above the toes. A velvet jolt passes through me that lifts my head! Invigorated I take my whistle and join the others in their chirping chorus. By the time I finish whistling for the healing ceremony and think to look for that cricket, he is long gone. Time is out of measurement. Dance sequences follow one another at a fast pace with little break.

While I am dancing I begin to notice that Pierre next to me is exceptionally determined. Something special is happening to him and we can all see it. His dancing is not just animated but it seems as if "the buffalo is stalking him." He charges the pole and stumbles. A fierce call goes up from one of the dancers to my left. Encouraging him all the dancers on this northwest side charge with him, but draw back at the pole allowing him to reach the trunk and feel it with his hands. With the conclusion of a song sequence he falls on his back in his stall. Covering him with cattails, I lay a piece of sage just below his nostrils. With the beginning of the next dance sequence he is up. Stumbling to his stall poles he stands without grabbing them. Through this dance and the next Pierre forces himself on. His determination appears to increase rather than abate. He continues to dance to the conclusion and his commitment lifts us all up.

The pickup truck with the water arrives. We dance within sight of the large containers of mountain water. It is distracting--charge to the pole, backwards dance, and take a glance. Put it out of mind, go to the pole, raise your hand

plumes, bring them down beside your cheeks to your heart and, "There it is!" Finally, someone moves the truck with the water containers and the last dances go more smoothly. Noon is past and anticipation is high. A dance sequence ends and a friend comes around outside the shade trees and asks if we have containers for water. I take several and pass them around keeping one for myself.

We are called to stand and to whistle again as the water-song is sung. How easily it goes. I think back to a few years ago as I watched outside the Big Lodge when the singers refused to sing a water song because they felt that the dancers needed to dance more. The debate, then, went back and forth between head-shaman and singers. It was instructive for I realized that there are several separate groups at a Sun Dance whose interconnected activities intermingle during the dance. The Sun Dance is not simply the sponsor, the Sun Dance chief, and the dancers. The singers at the drum, the announcers, and the families outside all play roles during the dance.

But no pressure is exerted now by the singers. They can see how weak the dancers are and their water song is itself refreshing. There is a prayer for the four water women who went out early this morning to gather this water. The containers are brought into the lodge and the water women stand beside them. Chants fill the lodge as the lids are removed and the magnificent gleam of sunlight strikes the containers of water. Where else can we find sparkling water? No trivial advertisement can compete with the simple delight, the real thing, of our lovely blue-green planet's water.

The women distribute water to the sponsors and shamans who wait for the women dancers to be served before they drink. I am equidistant from the sponsor-shaman group as I am from the lines of women on either side. "Oh my God!" My heart sinks at the prospect of being the last to receive water. "Get hold of yourself, John," I think with grim determination at seeing my resolve completely erode within sight of the finish line. At that very instant a disdain for my weakness drew me back to lean on my bedroll and away from my squatting position beneath the stall poles. "Let it be so!" I resolve, "I won't go to pieces in this strait."

Joined by two men the water is ladled from the huge containers into smaller buckets and carried around to the dancers. Pouring with abandon the flow completely floods some of the cups and waters the ground. Laughter wells up from all directions and conversations swell throughout the lodge. "John?" Pierre's voice comes weakly from the shade trees where he lays cradled with his head on his wife's lap. "You know, when I was dancing to the tree I had a marvelous revelation. I was called by the feminine side of God. All this dance I had been praying to God as He. Suddenly, God, She!, was drawing me to the tree. It was an uncanny, marvelous experience." Touched by his confidence, tears streamed down my face. "I hope we all grow from your experience," I stammered. "I hope we humans can save our lovely planet from our consuming madness."

The water comes and I sip from my cup. My mouth is like dry cotton and as I swish the water around my mouth all the grit and dried saliva peel off my gums and inner cheeks. Spitting the

water vigorously on my feet burns my entire mouth which is tender. Taking a smaller sip I try to let it pass down my gullet. "Ah!," it passes down my esophagus and into my stomach with a mild burning sensation. Taking a gulp I almost choke, but manage to catch myself and gargle instead. Each mouthful rejuvenates me. A can of lemonade soda comes through the shade trees, another is handed to me by my neighbors. Sitting in the shade trees like one returned to Eden I croon over my cups of bubbling and sweet liquids. Helpers pass through the lodge with tubs of soda and lemonade. A woman dancer comes over to Pierre, "Here have some of this," handing him some of the most exquisite-looking yellow liquid. "We saw you working hard at the end. It was good for all of us. Thank you." Motioning for me to pass my cup, Pierre pours some of the liquid gold for me. It is real lemonade with peel, pulp, and sugar.

The Procession from the Lodge

"Bring your gear to the door, John, Adam is waiting." Waking with a start from my reverie I turn and see Magdalene walk away. Quickly, I roll up my bedroll and stuff my gear into its satchel. Taking my whistle and plumes I set them inside the Pendleton blanket and position them between the handles of the case. I tuck them all under my arm and head for the door. Dancers are handing over their rolls on all sides. I spot Adam and he takes my things without comment. He is serious and intent gathering the bedrolls from Duwayne and myself in the melee of activity. As I walk back someone reminds me to keep my whistle and blanket for the exit parade. Turning around an acquaintance

reads the anxious look on my face. Hearing my request for blanket and feathers he says, "Go sit down I'll get them." In a few minutes he returns and I go over to the door to retrieve them. Taking them, I smile awkwardly at my mistake and mumble, "Thanks alot." "It's okay," he says, "our Sun Dancers are special, eh?"

Two lines go out, men in front bare chested and carrying their blankets. The women come behind, beautiful in their calico dresses and freshly combed hair. Families line up on two sides and shake hands with us as we come out. Someone points to a tub filled with watermelon slices. "Have one," she says with a smile, "you must be thirsty!"

Like a voyager come back from a long journey I moved among the crowd outside the Sun Dance lodge with joy in the return, with a longing for the places left behind. I could see in the faces of my fellow dancers the even look of our elation and the deep fatigue of our effort. Duwayne and I lingered for awhile and then walked over to the family camp. Down along the crescent swing of the Crow camp, families milled around their dancers who were generally seated at tables.

At the Camp

"Now, you're Sun Dancers!" Adam's smile was broad as he looked us over from his chair under the tarpaulin canopy. We sat at the table waiting for the deer meat broth and stew that Violet had prepared. "Don't drink too much of that lemonade, it's too sweet," Violet said as she saw us draining our second glassful. Laughter welled up from the Real Bird camp next door to us.

Looking over I could see the old women guffawing over a young dancer who had turned his nose up when offered a piece of tripe. All around me family scenes were being played out with warmth. The merriment of the gathering welled up in the togetherness of the people. I spooned my first taste of the broth and nearly swooned in its aroma before I got it to my mouth. For the next twenty minutes I was incommunicable, lost in the pleasures of the palate.

Coming up for air I noticed that Bill Russell had joined Adam. Feeling an urge to express my regard, I pulled over my satchel and took out the three packs of cigarettes that I had left from the dance. Taking them I gave one pack to Adam, one pack to Bill and one pack to Violet who was cooking at the campstove. She seemed to be surprised. I wondered if I had put her in an awkward position. Perhaps dancers only gave cigarettes to men. But I felt the impulse was genuine and that they would understand my intention.

After washing my face and feet with a wet cloth, I pulled on the clothes that still lay scattered across the back seat of Magdalene's car. Sitting at the table Duwayne and I began to remember the highlights of the Sun Dance. Bill and Adam recalled their participation in earlier Sun Dances either fire-tending or in some other capacity. Although Adam had not danced, his father had danced for him while he was in World War II. Violet's sister from California joined us and after recollecting her thoughts on the dance suggested that we go for a swim. Eager to bathe in the cool flow of the Little Big Horn River I readily agreed. "Let me go back and see my stall before we go, though," I thought aloud.

Someone had made the comment during our talk and the idea had appealed to me.

Just hours after we had come out of the lodge, then, I strolled back to the entrance. The grass for thirty yards in a circle around the outside of the door was brown and trampled. I walked in the lodge and immediately felt the question. "Which place would I be in next time?" I already yearned for the next three dances to which I had committed myself. Looking to the northwest I located my stall. I went to the poles and grasping them looked at the buffalo head on the central tree and, then, the eagle in the rafters' branches. Tunnel vision and myopia gripped me as I gazed towards the center. "It is not clear yet," I thought. "I am only beginning to dance. I am only beginning to travel in this vision."

On the walk back to the Birdinground camp I noticed how silent and quiet the larger camp circle was. Extending three hundred and sixty degrees around the Big Lodge only two hundred degrees or so were actually being used for family camps. The remaining space was field and fence, gully and rolling hill. Above and beyond, the Big Horn Mountains sloped in green majesty capped with remnants of the week's earlier snow. Movement was scarce throughout the panorama. Like some elder among the Crow waiting with her presence for just the right response, so the land seemed to wait for me. "This is a beginning," I thought. "Now, I must learn to wait, and in waiting for the next dance, learn." Slowly, I turned my mind towards the prospect of a swim.

Discussion Concerning the 1948 Constitution and By-Laws
of the Crow Tribe of Indians

by
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To fully understand the motivation for and loyalty to their present form of government, one must consider the early history of the Crow Tribe. Ruth Underhill, in her book, Red man's America, characterizes the Crow, along with other plains Indians, as the "new rich" of the plains, that is up to 1883 when the last of the buffalo were slaughtered. Early Crow history is easy to follow and is easy to predict even though the Crow, and their sister tribe, the Hidatsa of North Dakota, have not been in this area for more than three or four hundred years.

What is hard to define and to comprehend the motivation for are the actions of the Crow Indians after the buffalos were gone. In Frank B. Linderman's book, Plenty Coups: Chief of the Crows, he quoted the old Chief saying.

I can think back and tell you much more of war and horse stealing. But when the buffalo went away the hearts of my People fell to the ground, and they could not lift them up again. After this nothing happened. There was little singing anywhere.

The Crow Indians had been beaten to the ground. It must have been what happened in the early training of the Green Berets or the Mercenary Soldiers. They are first made to totally lose their personality and then a new identity is created.

The Crows are a resilient people though small pox had reduced the tribes number so that by 1910 the census showed a population of less than 1,800 members. The chiefs and the ones left on the reservation tried really hard to please the agent who

represented the government. They also tried to please the stockmen who leased their land. On every side, we read about cruel and thoughtless treatment of the Indian people who were totally dependent on the whims of their guardians.

The government's sole object was to make Crow Indians into farmers, herders, irrigators, and good Christians. All of these actions were reenforced by the Lone Wolf decision in 1908 in which the Supreme Court stated that Indians were "wards of the government," and that, as the government was the "guardian," it could do whatever it "deems best." Congress took this to mean that they could open up reservation land without the consent of the Indians.

Plenty Coups, Bell Rock, Looks with His Ears, Big Medicine, Bull That-Don't-Fall-Down, and Medicine Crow all made statements against opening the reservation to homesteading or for sale of lands. Knows The Ground suggested letting the younger, educated Crows talk face to face with the President to tell him the Crows wanted to keep their land.

Curley, of the Reno band, said: "The soil you see is not ordinary soil; it is the dust of the blood, the flesh, and the bones of our ancestors... You will have to dig down through the surface before you can find nature's earth, as the upper portion is Crow..." (U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, pp. 770-771, 1908).

In 1908, Plenty Coups brought five men into the center of the council, saying. "At the time of the Treaty of 1868, these men had not been born, but the Treaty stipulated that the Indian children should go to school. Now these ... are the result of that Treaty ... and, these young men who understand the white man's way, wear their hair short, and live as white men should go

with me, to Washington. I represent the old type Indian, and they are the new" (Crow Council, February 11, 1908). The five were: Carl Leider, Frank Shively, James Hill, David Stewart, and Horace Long Bear. They were approved as delegates to Washington. Alternates were also chosen. They were Joseph Cooper, Morris Schaffer, Spotted Rabbit, Big Medicine, Holman Ceasley and Sees-With-His-Ears. Meanwhile, some of the more educated Crow Indians were busy working on revising the Dion Bill to fit the needs of the Crows as to fully allot all land on the Crow reservation except for the "sacred mountains," which they wanted to reserve forever for all Crow Indians.

When Joe Cooper, James Carpenter, James Hill, Russell White Bear, and George Hogan returned to the reservation, they began to urge that a Business Council be organized. They were urged to do this by the lawyers, Charles J. Kappler and Charles H. Meillat since they were seeking an approved contract to represent the Crow Tribe in what became the Crow Claim case. By September 26, 1910, the council minutes showed that representatives from different districts were elected.

Sees-With-His-Ears, Two Leggings, and Bull Robe were elected for Black Lodge; Spotted Rabbit, Sits Down Spotted, and Dick Wallace for Upper Big Horn; Plain Owl, Bull-Don't-Fall-Down and Holds the Enemy for Lower Big Horn; George W. Hogan, Morris Schaffer, and Deer Nose for Reno; J.W. Cooper, Jim Carpenter, and Packs the Hall for Lodge Grass; and Plenty Coups, Rosebud Farwell, and Old Coyote were elected for Pryor.

Over the years, the membership and the numbers shifted, but the Business Council lasted for thirteen years. The government

tried, at first, to discourage the Business Council, but they began to see advantages. It all began to fall apart over the Soap Creek oil lease. In 1923, the Business Council became a thing of the past.

In Margery Pease's booklet, "A Worthy Work in A Needy Time," about the story of the Montana Industrial School for Indians (the Bond Mission), 1886-1897, she writes that the Rev. Bond wrote the following:

I don't believe the Crows have ever thought of such a thing, and I do not know that the matter has been considered amongst the whites. Some demagogues, bye and bye, will probably be giving dollars, beef, or whiskey for votes. Of course, there will be wretched time before the Indians become full fledged ... citizens (p. 51).

The Crow Indians, by 1923, were sure that many of those things had happened to members of their Business Council. Thus, in 1934, when the Indian Reorganization Act became law, Crow Indians rejected the Wheeler/Howard Act, because they wanted no part of a Business Council. The Crows wanted to govern themselves with the old-style Tribal council where all adults met and made decisions for the tribe. This part of their old culture was their "security blanket;" they had lost so much.

Eventually, pressure was brought to bear from Washington, D.C. to update their form of government. The Crows had a number of important issues that needed to be decided, but their "loose" councils were not considered to be a decent representation of the Tribal vote.

The Crows were told that there were at least three issues that were pressing.

1. The Soap Creek oil fields--trucks were hauling barrels of crude without agreements on the price or money being paid

to the tribe.

2. Since 1904, the Reclamation Service had a goal to promote a dam across the Big Horn Canyon to irrigate vast lands on both sides of the Big Horn River, but no funds were available to make it a reality. Later, in the 1930s Hardin people wore buttons like "Dam the Bighorn" in an effort to promote its construction. Finally, the Federal government became seriously interested in the project, and under the provisions of the Federal Flood Control Act of 1944, a dam was authorized. Now, the pressure was on the Crows to agree to a new irrigation project.
3. The Crows were informed that if they wanted to get serious about the Crow Claim, they had to have a decision for the Court of Claims from a Federally recognized form of government, not from the loose councils they now had.

Thus, at the Crow Tribal General Council of June 11, 1948, the Crows had two decisions to make. It was time to elect a new Chairman and a Secretary, and the Crows were talking about adopting a Constitution and By-Laws. After the great deal of debate, a secret ballot was taken. Robert Yellowtail won the election over other candidates by getting 91 votes. George Hogan Sr. won as Secretary with 49 votes. Thus, the new officers were Chairman Robert Yellowtail and Secretary George Hogan, Sr.

Prior to the adoption of the Crow Tribal Constitution in 1948 (the same one with certain amendments being used today in 1994), there were three Constitutions being circulated around the Crow Reservation: the "brown" constitution, the "blue" constitution, and the "white" constitution. The "brown" was formulated by certain Crow Indians with the help of a Catholic Friar who wore a brown garb. The "white" was printed on white paper and was sponsored by Donald Deernote, Joseph Medicine Crow, and other Crow Tribal members who were mainly younger members of the Crow Tribe. The "blue" was supposedly written by Robert Yellowtail, Sr., in reality Yellowtail had been ably assisted by

Kenneth Simons of Billings, MT who was the Crow Tribal Attorney at that time.

A great deal of discussion ensued at the June 11, 1948 Council. One statement by the newly elected Crow Tribal Secretary was as follows:

I have been a secretary of the Tribal Council a long time. I think from 1910 to 1928, and I have experienced about the Council. Fellow members, you have never had a real organized council. The only thing you have gone by is what the majority of adult members of the Tribe ruled and that is the only organization you have, but to make a long story short, several meetings ago we had a large assembly. If my count was correct, there were 428 males and females present. Mr. (Paul) Fickinger was here. Owing to a little trouble I had, due to an operation, I had to leave the hall early but I later understood Mr. Fickinger said that council was not legal and would not be recognized. Ever since that time I, as a member of this Crow Tribe, am at a loss to understand when a council will be legal and be recognized. One of my fellow members, if he will permit me to use his name, Jasper Long, said the Crow Tribal Council is nothing but a joke. Fellow members, I am getting tired of this. I like to see my members be organized and work together.

After more discussion, Chairman Yellowtail gave a long speech.

The following is a quote about the so called "blue" constitution:

We ought to have a Constitution and By-Laws to guide this Council. We have the Reclamation Bureau who wants to deal with us. If we have no Constitution and By-Laws, we will be at a loss as to how to proceed. We should have a Constitution and By-Laws so we will be organized--you know, "Go ahead and thrash the thing out, then take a vote" and then those of you who are defeated have enough sportsmanship to say "Alright, we did our best." Everybody who wanted to speak here today had their chance.

Others had their say such as Hartford Bearclaw:

I think every Indian on the reservation had a copy of that white constitution two months ago to read and study. We want to fix it so the Chairman can get up and say "All the Indians want a council and we will invite you over to it" but we want the Tribal Council to be controlled by the "Chairman." We don't want to go to the Superintendent and have to say "Please may we have a Tribal Council?" We want to get away from that today. We have nothing today at our Council before the Superintendent. We don't want to beg the superintendent for a council. We want it so the Indians can say, "Let's have a

Council and deal with the Dam business." We don't want the Superintendent or anyone else to say what we can do.

Eventually, the Council was continued to June 14, 1948. On that day Chairman Yellowtail announced that Charles Yarlott had made a suggestion that the Tribal Attorneys explain the Constitutions:

Mr. Simmons, can you or your partner get up and explain these constitutions to the group?

Mr. Simmons: "I am very happy to be able to go through these constitutions. First of all, I want it clearly understood that, as your Attorney I advise you to adopt some constitution. You have two constitutions for your consideration. They are entirely different based upon one principle and one principle only. One constitution proposes to leave all the authority to the Crow Tribe, meeting in council, the other constitution proposes to delegate the power to a smaller group. Either constitution is legally correct. The sole power of adopting any constitution, the sole power of disposing of your property, the sole power of making any regulations, the sole power of conducting your affairs, lies with the Crow Tribe as a whole, so you people, as the Crow General Council, can decide what constitution you want to adopt. That is your business and your business alone. No one else has a thing to say about it. Before I explain these constitutions and go through them I want you to clearly understand that Mr. Davis and I have examined very carefully each constitution and we find them correct, and while we have sat in and aided in the drafting of this other constitution, it is your business which one you want to operate under. There are advantages to each. It might be well for me to follow through in each constitution as I go along so you can have a comparison of them."

After a great deal of more arguments, the vote on the constitutions was deferred to the districts. At the June 14th council, George Hogan, Jr. introduced another constitution to be considered. This was the "brown" or "yellow" constitution which was developed by the Pryor district Crow Indians.

At a later council, June 28, 1948, the results of the districts election was announced. The "blue" constitution had 295 votes. The "yellow" constitution had 75 votes. The "white" constitution had 57 votes. Thus, the Crows had a Constitution

and By-Laws that was eventually approved May 23, 1949 by William Zimmerman, Jr., Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Over the years, since 1948, there have been vocal complaints about the constitution. Chief among these is the allegation that it sets up any Chairman as a director over the council and over council business. I have been appointed to serve on five constitution committees. At lease, two of these were funded by the B.I.A. The last committee on which I served was funded with \$50,000 by the government.

After serving 10 to 30 days of diligent work, it is very defeating to circulate several thousand copies, go to the Tribal Council, and have someone offer a motion to table the entire matter and go on to other business. Zap! That ends that; the Crows still retain their old constitution with a few amendments over the years.

A man came from Washington, D.C. some years ago and told us our constitution was a good document in that it was loosely constructed and provided for ordinances that could be amended. The major glaring faults with our constitution are two.

First, there is no provision for consequences of wrong doing. You can tell someone a certain action is wrong, but if there are no penalties how do you get obedience? Secondly, the B.I.A. is our Treasurer. According to the 1935 Act, we have to submit a budget and have to have the permission of the B.I.A. to expend our funds. We are not truly able to control our money. It can be allocated at the whim of the B.I.A. and this is not right.